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DISRUPTING "THE NATION": GENDER TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE TRINIDAD CARNIVAL

INTRODUCTION

Annually, between the Christian seasons of Christmas and Lent, the twin-island "nation" of Trinidad and Tobago devotes a considerable amount of resources and energy to Carnival activities.¹ A season in its own right, the Carnival culminates in a two-day street celebration marked by music, dancing, and masquerade performances. Historically, Trinidad's Carnival² has served as a social barometer of sorts, registering the ethos, fantasies, ideals, and contests of the society, what Victor Turner (1986:41) has called the hopelessly intermingled indicative and subjunctive "moods" of a culture. In turn, Carnival has had a profound effect on the Self-consciousness and behavior of Trinidadians as a people. Each year, Carnival is known, and sometimes expected, to generate a controversy or highly contentious issue. Some controversies are year-specific and often confined to the organizational bodies responsible for the planning and performance of the Carnival. Others are more diffuse, extending over several years and involving large segments of the society in heated debates about the meaning, function, interpretation, and social/moral implications of certain

1. The author wishes to thank Daniel Segal (Pitzer College), Laurie Shrage (Cal Poly, Pomona), and the *NWIG* Board of Editors for their helpful comments and suggestions. The author also benefitted from the comments made by Ellen Badone, William Rodman, Gordon Rohlehr, and Gary Warner on an earlier version of this work.

2. My study is limited to the island of Trinidad, even though two islands make up the "nation" of Trinidad and Tobago. Both islands were united by the British in 1889 with a single governor, judiciary, and code of law (Brereton 1981:155), and became politically independent in 1962. They share very different historical trajectories and socio-cultural configurations, however. Carnival is not weighted with the same meanings in Tobago, and Carnival's ethos is often used by islanders themselves to distinguish Trinidadians from Tobagonians.

Carnival practices and/or innovations. In the last decade, the large numerical presence and behavior of women in Trinidad's Carnival has been one such "national" controversy.

This article uses the presence and performances of women in Trinidad's Carnival, and the narratives surrounding them, to comprehend the linkages between Carnival and the Trinidadian national identity, between gender and the nationalist project. The highly charged public debates that have recently surrounded the perceived "feminization" of Carnival suggest more than a numerical take-over of the national fête by females. I contend that the controversy rages because Carnival's "gender change" both exposes the dilemma of post-colonial nation-building and strikes at the very heart of the hegemonic nationalist project. At issue here is an understanding of the nationalist project as "gendered," an insight largely ignored in both lay and scholarly analyses of the material and symbolic role of Carnival in Trinidad's "nation-building." In this paper, I will establish the connection between Carnival and the "nation" of Trinidad and Tobago, then go on to unmask the "gendering" of the nationalist project which, according to its own logic, *must* make of Carnival a "female festival," produced and imagined by men. I argue that women are ambiguously situated in this universe of meaning and practice, simultaneously undermining the male-constructed nationalist project while seeming to appropriate and reinforce the male produced image of the exotic Other. This ambiguity must be wrestled with by women if they are to both critique and script constructive roles into the narrative and practice of "nation-building." In other words, it raises the question of how and if women can pursue their own interests within masculinist discourses and projects (Irigaray 1985; Alexander 1994).

Embedded in this text, of course, is a critique of theories of nations and nationalism which either silence or minimize issues of gender and gender relations in their analyses. While many oft-quoted and well-respected scholars of nationalist phenomena³ have largely ignored the significance of "gender" in their analytical frameworks, another growing group of scholars have been unmasking the gender-blindness of most hegemonic theories of nationalism. These latter theorists, among them many female scholars, have shown not only how thoroughly the "nation" is gendered, but how women are written into the nationalist script in largely silent, subordinate, symbolic, or supportive roles.⁴ Joanne Sharp (1996:99), for

3. For example, Gellner 1983; Smith 1986, 1995; Hobsbawm 1990; Anderson 1991; Kedourie 1993.

4. See, for example, Jayawardena 1986; Enloe 1989; Balibar 1990; Marston 1990; Chatterjee 1990, 1993; Boehmer 1991; Kandiyoti 1991; Yuval-Davis 1991, 1997; Parker *et al.* 1992; McClintock 1993, 1997; Nash 1994; Johnson 1995; Sharp 1996.

example, using Anderson's insight of the "imagined bonding" of national citizens writes:

The imagined bonding between individuals and the nation in narratives of national identification is differentiated by gender. Men are incorporated into the nation metonymically ... Women are scripted into the national imaginary in a different manner. Women are not equal to the nation but symbolic of it. Many nations are figuratively female – Britannia, Marianne and Mother Russia come immediately to mind. In the national imaginary, women are mothers of the nation or vulnerable citizens to be protected ... It is the metonymic bond of male citizens who must act to save or promote the female nation.

Inspired and challenged by the issues raised by theoreticians of nationalism and gender, I bring their questions and insights to the performing of the "nation" in Trinidad and Tobago, hoping, in turn, that my analysis will both illustrate and contribute to the growing body of theoretical work on nationalist projects.

METHODOLOGY

This study is the result of fourteen months of formal fieldwork done in Trinidad. However, the origins of this work lie in many years of observing and participating in the Port of Spain Carnival. My first incursion into formal research took place in July and August of 1990, a period of "national" crisis for the islands when Abu Bakr and his Muslim insurgents attempted to overthrow the elected government of Trinidad and Tobago. Being in Port of Spain at this time demonstrated to me the centrality of the carnivalesque, albeit contested, as a way of framing and coping, even with issues of critical social importance. In September 1991, I returned to Trinidad for a year of research. During this time I conducted interviews, did archival research, and observed and participated in a number of the 1992 Carnival related events, including the Port of Spain "Parade of Bands." I was also a participant observer at the 1993 Carnival, and from 1994 to the present have had access to video, audio, and newspaper representations which enabled me to observe the yearly event. The gender transformations in the Carnival, referred to in this study, have been slowly evolving over the last few decades, but the trend became more marked and controversial in the 1980s and continues to the present. The ethnographic data on which this analysis is based is drawn from the 1992 Carnival in which I both participated and gathered an extensive amount of material. While a particular celebration, this Carnival can be considered paradigmatic of late twentieth-century Carnivals insofar as it embodies the practices, public discourses, and concerns around issues of gender and nation building in

Trinidad and Tobago. Additionally, this study of a late twentieth-century Trinidadian Carnival could provide useful ethnographic material for a comparative study of the performance practices of women in the Carnival-celebrating countries of the world.

CARNIVAL & THE TRINBAGO "NATION-STATE"⁵

An urban Trinidadian by birth, I moved into and through adolescence against a back-drop of nationalist fervor and contests which preceded and followed the nation's independence in 1962. The Carnival was one, among many, of the annual events which punctuated my young life, and shaped my understanding of time as seasonal and of many moods. In urban St. James, Christmas preceded Carnival and Lent followed Carnival with the same sort of regularity and certainty that nature's seasons follow each other in the Northern Hemisphere. Carnival, however, with its songs, music, and masquerade has always had a privileged public significance in Trinidad's colonial history, and this became increasingly so as the islands, under the administration of Eric Williams's People's National Movement (PNM), moved to construct its "nation-state."

Carnival's symbolic and material significance, however, can only be understood in the context of the demands of the nationalist project. The "imagined bonding" required of national citizens emphasized the need to reduce attention to color, class, and ethnic differences, and to stress instead a common "culture" based on the shared experience of the indignities of colonialism. Richard Fox (1990:67), in his examination of Hindu identity in India, notes that a cultural essentialism underlies the notion that a nation must have a character, and that this character derives from some cultural underpinning. In Trinidad and Tobago, the new nation's cultural identity was conceptualized as having been forged in response to colonial domination. Indeed, the first prime minister, Eric Williams (1962:280), suggested that there was a "fundamental underlying unity" in Trinidad and Tobago's society based on a collective experience of colonialism.

Williams's nationalist rhetoric assumed the oppositional categories of colonizers/colonized, erasing both the differences within each category and the points of complicity, resistance, and negotiation across the dominated/dominator divide. Several five-year development plans treated national unity as the overriding objective of development, and the creation of a national identity, based on a common "culture," as crucial to this

5. Trinbago is taken from the words "Trinidad" and "Tobago" and is sometimes used to denote the one nation. "Trinbagonian" is not a popular form of self-identification, however, with most locals preferring to identify with their island of birth.

unity. Trinidad-born V.S. Naipaul provides us with some insight into the sort of popular perceptions against which Williams's words must be understood. In *The Middle Passage*, also published in 1962, the year of Trinidad's political "independence," Naipaul (p. 72) wrote:

This talk of culture is comparatively new. It was a concept of some politicians in the forties, and caught on largely because it answered the vague, little-understood dissatisfaction some people were beginning to feel with their lives of fantasy. The promotion of a local culture was the only form of nationalism that could arise in a population divided into mutually exclusive cliques based on race, colour, shade, religion, money. Under pressure any Trinidadian group could break up into its component parts... Nationalism was impossible in Trinidad. In the colonial society everyman had to be for himself; everyman had to grasp whatever dignity and power he was allowed; he owed no loyalty to the island and scarcely any to his group.

While a convenient notion around which a national Self could be constructed, the concept of a common "local culture" was problematic, however, given Trinidad's colonial past. British colonial policy and practice had put in place a social structure which organized and constructed hierarchical boundaries between people based on their ancestral origins, color/race, class, and gender. The Trinidadian Self, therefore, was constituted as several, with certain *kinds*, depending on the variables mentioned above, more privileged than others. For heuristic purposes, I use the terms "elite" and "dominant group" to refer to those who had appropriated the right to govern, control resources, and construct/normalize/police the status quo based on their own criteria. The word "ethnic" is used to signify those *kinds of people* culturally constructed as different or Other based on the often conflated categories of ancestral origins, cultural practices, physical characteristics, and class. This "difference" justifies the inferior social status of the group, and therefore, the exclusion of its members from society's privileges and benefits. "Ethnicity" is also appropriated by groups so defined as a basis of solidarity, Self-affirmation, and opposition/resistance. I am well aware of the extensive scholarly literature that exists regarding "who" and "what" can properly be defined as "ethnic" (cf. B. Williams 1989). Engagement with that debate requires another paper. I am also aware that "ethnicity" in Trinidad has its own emic meanings. For example, "negroes" have traditionally been considered a "racial" group while "Indians" are considered "ethnics," even though both have historically been subjugated groups. The unpacking of this significant distinction goes well beyond the scope of this study, however. For the purpose of this paper, I use the concept of "ethnicity" to refer both to the power-laden process of group construction and to the formation, in Trinidad, of two main subordinated groups, originally from

Africa and India, who were imported into Trinidad to satisfy the labor schemes of the colonial elite.

The "culture of ethnicity" (Yelvington 1993:9) was firmly established in Trinidad by the time anti-colonial sentiments began to gather momentum at the turn of the twentieth century (Magid 1988). Even though there is evidence that "cultural borrowing" and syncretisms between the two groups had been slowly taking place, this process was both suppressed by colonial officials and erased by local politicians who appropriated and politicized "ethnicity" in their struggle for ascendancy against both the colonial and local Others. As a result, party politics and ethnic politics in Trinidad are significantly correlated (Yelvington 1993:11-12).

Williams's nationalist utterances, therefore, has to be understood in the context of this "culture of ethnicity." In many ways, Williams and the PNM operated on the horns of a dilemma. Nationalist discourse demanded the erasure of social differences in "imagining" the nation, yet access to political power required identification with images and interests that were recognizably "ethnic." These are the two opposing yet related processes that Yelvington (1995:59) refers to in his analysis of nationalism and ethnicity in Trinidad. There is the discourse which constructs a Trinidadian as non-ethnic, that is, a national citizen over and against "others," such as "foreigners" or "ethnics." Conversely, there is the pervasive rhetoric about ethnic, racial, and cultural differences which is used both to access/consolidate power and justify one's claim to authentic citizenship.

Williams and the PNM, while calling for the erasure of "differences" in favor of a "national/local" culture, were nevertheless heavily dependent on the support of their Afro-Creole constituencies for their political ascendancy. Ethnicity became implicated in the nationalist project as PNM politicians, mainly middle-class Afro- and colored professionals and intellectuals, articulated a political agenda that clearly rewarded and appealed to the Afro-Creole working classes, especially those in urban areas (Craig 1985). Significantly, the PNM's main electoral opponents were various "Indian" parties, with a large rural support base, which were formed during the latter half of the twentieth century. Cultural practices, then, identified as Afro-Creole-derived, were elevated to the status of national/local over and against "cultures" of the Other (Yelvington 1995). Among those practices so privileged as unique "national" inventions are Carnival, and the music with which Carnival is closely associated, steelband and calypso. However, it is important to note that Carnival is not universally recognized as a "pure" and unambiguous African-derived event as is evidenced in the on-going debates about the "origins," and therefore, the "ownership" of the festival.

In present-day Trinidad, the term "cultural activity" is popularly understood to mean the performing and festival arts. The annual Carnival,

transformed over time in practice and meaning, is currently constructed as Trinidad's cultural performance *par excellence*, and given the status of the "national festival." Carnival evolved from the late eighteenth century, through a series of transformations, into a twentieth-century pre-Lenten rite in which diverse social cliques met and interacted in a common activity, albeit along parallel planes as argued by Johnson (1983). It was, therefore, ideally suited for co-option by the Afro-Creole government in the imaging of a "national" seamless Self.

Carnival, then, became the vehicle through which, and around which, a "mythopoetic" national metanarrative was created, one that homogenized various narratives of Trinidadian self-identification, while paradoxically, acknowledging and celebrating difference (see, for example, Gupta 1992:72; B. Williams 1990). Moreover, in the context of nationalist discourse, Carnival was considered *uniquely* Trinidadian, the womb which gave birth to steelband music and calypso, two "inventions" of the black, urban, lower-class males. With the demand for indigenous alternatives to colonial culture, these musical genres were recast as national icons, becoming the nuclei around which a cultural movement, parallel to the political independence movement, could evolve (Stewart 1986:305).

As demonstrated elsewhere (De Freitas 1994; Van Koningsbruggen 1997), the festival has become a salient symbol, albeit contested, in the dominant discourse on Trinidad's culture and national ethos, with many Trinidadians, especially from urban areas, cultivating a self that is expressive of the Carnival ethos. As the historian Gordon Lewis (1968:223), observed:

For the degree that Carnival embodied economic values *different from* [my emphasis] those of traditional Protestant capitalism ... Trinidadians could feel that they were capable of enjoying themselves in spendthrift pageantry in ways denied to the "cold" English or the "materialist" Americans and could therefore feed the sense of distinctiveness, *of being different from others* [my emphasis], which is the essence of nationalism.

It should be emphasized, however, that Carnival, as the site where a unique Trinidadian Self is said to be expressed and shaped, is not uncontested, however. As a symbol of national identity, Carnival sets limits on the kind of Self it is possible to create. As a result, Carnival generates its yearly controversies, many of which are fundamentally about the appropriate and inappropriate expressions of "national" identity. Analysts of Trinidad's Carnival have tended to filter the event through the prisms of race, class, ethnicity, and nation-building (for example, Hill 1972, 1983; Johnson 1983; Pearse 1988a; Powrie 1988). This paper foregrounds "gender," especially as it relates to the "imagining" and "performing" of the nation. I do not wish to suggest that class and race are not implicated

in gender expectations and practices. The status, position, expectations and behaviors of all women and of all men are clearly not the same in Trinidad. However, as Lisa Douglass (1992:76) argues in her study of upper-class Jamaican women, "what is considered appropriate female behavior is not simply about class. Nor can class alone explain why men live in a way more oriented to the 'street' than women." The same can be said for Trinidad.

KING CARNIVAL: IMAGINING "THE NATION"

In the classical tradition of Europe, Carnival is typically represented as male in contrast to the spirit of Lent which is depicted as a thin, old woman (Scott 1990:173). Carnival is personified as a fat, gluttonous eater and drinker, symbol of hedonistic excess. Similarly, in Trinidad, Carnival is often referred to as "King Carnival" or the "Merry Monarch" in both official and popular discourse. However, while Trinidad's "king" shares maleness with his European counterpart, his masculinity is fundamentally different. In dominant nationalist narratives, Carnival is represented, not as the fat King who indulged in orgiastic excesses, but as a lean and mean usurper who wrests control of the city from the foreign and/or respectable Others. Significantly, the remembered heroes of Carnival are the stick-fighters, midnight robbers,⁶ dragons, devils, wild Indians, sailors, *pierrrot granades*,⁷ steelband men, calypsonians and *ole mas*'⁸ iconoclasts.

6. The Midnight Robber was a very popular male masquerade in the first half of the twentieth century, but is now considered a "survival" of a more authentic Carnival which existed in the past. The Robber wears an enormous hat with a fringed brim and a flowing cape adorned with skulls, crosses, and bones. He carries a wooden dagger or gun and assails his victim with long-winded speeches of doom and gloom. He brags about his origins and deeds, and he makes extravagant, but empty, threats and claims. The colloquialism "robber-talk" is used outside the Carnival frame to describe the speech of people, especially politicians, who make grandiose claims and threats. "Robber-talkers" are usually not taken seriously.

7. A popular male masquerade of the early twentieth century, and now largely extinct, the *Pierrot Granade* is described by Carr (1988:196-207) as "the supreme jester" in Trinidad's Carnival. A "scholar" who dressed in tatters and rags and delighted in an exhibition of his "deep learning," the *Pierrot Granade* was a satire on his richly dressed and more learned brother, the *Pierrot*. The *Pierrot Granade* usually carried a whip.

8. *Ole Mas*', abbreviated from "old masquerade," refers to the wearing of rags and old clothing as costumes for Carnival. The practice is generally associated with the start of the two-day street festival at dawn, a time traditionally devoted to inversions, ridicule, and parody. "Masking" is a popular metaphor in everyday Trinidadian speech, with the word *mas*' used in a variety of phrases to describe certain situations, attitudes and behaviors. For example, *to make mas*' or *making mas*' carries meanings which include the making of costumes and the delight that comes in

All these performers were predominantly Afro-Trinidadian men and are celebrated for the themes of resistance which their performances seemed to portray.⁹ Carnival was, in fact, numerically dominated by men whose style of performance was often marked by ritualized (and sometimes actual) aggressive, competitive, and iconoclastic behavior. The nineteenth-century stick-fighters and early twentieth-century steelband men engaged each other in actual and ritualized "combat," sometimes directing their aggression at those who policed the island for the colonial government. Similarly, boasting and aggressive verbal sparring were an integral part of the speech acts of many masqueraders, with performers physically "attacking" each other if appropriate responses were not made in kind.¹⁰ Spectators, too, were frequently assailed by fierce-looking masqueraders, while the norms of society itself came under attack in *ole mas'* portrayals which subverted and inverted the canons of respectability. Since overt aggression and conflict are often unproblematically linked to the concept of resistance both in social science and popular discourses,¹¹ it is easy to understand why these practices were so naturally co-opted into a nationalist narrative concerned with issues of dominance and subjugation.

Like most nationalists, the architects of Trinidad's nationhood were men who had assumed the premises of an identity discourse which pitted the indigenous Self against the elite and/or foreign Other.¹² The logic of this discourse reduced all oppositions within the Carnival into "resistance" against dominant elites, privileging the behavior typically associated with male "resistance" practices. In present-day popular discourse, these aggressive and iconoclastic practices are defined as "hard." The linkage between the concept of "hardness" and nationalist values is not peculiar to Trinidad, and is one easily made, given the requirements of national construction. Nations are, by definition, bounded entities which require the constructing and policing of borders. "Soft" borders are easily penetrable while "hard" borders maintain the integrity of the Self-Other distinction. Furthermore, nation building is often seen to require "hard values," as Heng and Devan (1992:352) have pointed out in their study of Singaporean nationalism.

subverting and undercutting established norms, procedures, or institutions. To *turn everything into ole mas'* or the more passive, *everything turn ole mas'*, means that life, plans, or situations have been turned upside down, inside out (old garments were literally turned inside out at Carnival), messed up, or relativized.

9 For example, Hill 1972:49; Crowley 1983:223; Johnson 1983:186; Pearse 1988a:40.

10. Larrie, Black Indian masquerader, interview, May 13, 1992.

11. See Rogers (1975), Barbalet (1985), and Scott (1985) for the discussion on the unproblematic links made between resistance and overt conflictual practices.

12 See, for example, Fox 1990; Heng & Devan 1992; Katrak 1992; Layoun 1992.

In Trinidad, the "nation" was gendered from its very inception. Eric Williams conceived of the "nation" as a Mother. In his *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* which he dedicated to "all those who have gone before in the struggle for independence and against colonialism," he wrote:

A nation, like an individual, can have only one Mother. The only Mother we recognise is Mother Trinidad and Tobago, and Mother cannot discriminate between her children. All must be equal in her eyes. And no possible interference can be tolerated by any country outside in our family relations and domestic quarrels, no matter what it has contributed and when to the population that is today the people of Trinidad and Tobago. (p. 281)

Yet paradoxically, the narrative of nationalism in Trinidad is largely about men giving birth to the nation through struggle and the "hard" values of "resistance." Carnival as symbolic site of the struggle has largely been conceptualized as male. As privileged site of male oppositional and reputation-making practices, Carnival is narrated as the male "womb" in which the real Self was nurtured and from which the "nation" was born.

Woman's role, then, is perceived not as creating the "nation," but as sustaining that which has been created and continues to be created by men. She is the sustainer of the culture and the status quo: "they work, they come home, stay home, care for the family, they are the sustainers of our culture and our civilization."¹³ M. Jacqui Alexander (1994:13) expresses it well in her analysis of Caribbean nationalist parties:

Women were to fiercely defend the nation by protecting their honor, by guarding the nuclear, conjugal family, "the fundamental institution of the society," by guarding "culture" defined as the transmission of a fixed set of proper values to the children of the nation, and also by mobilizing on the party's behalf into the far reaches of the country.

Represented historically as the passive conduits and sustainers of colonial "respectable" culture (see, for example, Wilson 1973), women's role is paradoxically reduced to caring for and sustaining the masculine projects both of colonial dominance and indigenous resistance.

13. Ritchie, local "philosopher," interview, July 20, 1992.

WOMEN IN CARNIVAL

Women have always been part of the street Carnival, albeit in smaller numbers than men. Daniel Crowley (1988:47) records the existence of *jamet*¹⁴ bands in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which were comprised of both women and men. The *jamettes* wore beautiful dresses, with skirts draped over embroidered, starched petticoats and caught up into their belts. On their heads, they wore headties over which were placed either hats decorated with flowers and feathers or men's fedoras decorated with croton leaves. Always masked, the *jamettes*' most shocking behavior was their habit of opening their bodices to expose their breasts. Crowley suggests that the *jamettes* were "matadors" or retired prostitutes gone respectable, hence the need for masking. It is also possible that they *were* prostitutes aping prostitutes who had gone respectable. Names of individual women *chantwells*¹⁵ and stickfighters have also been passed on in the oral and written traditions of the *jamet* Carnival (Brereton 1979:167-69; Pearse 1988b:157-63). But while these *jamettes* are celebrated as part of the wider "male" resistance enterprise of aggression and sexual ribaldry against the elite Other, there exists a deep ambivalence about them as women, especially as it relates to their "sexual" behavior within the society. In present-day Trinidad, the word *jamet* no longer exists in popular usage to denote the un-gendered subaltern or "underworld" classes. Its feminized version continues in the popular vocabulary, however, and is part of a whole constellation of words used to describe women whose being or behavior is judged to be morally loose, sexually promiscuous, crude, or noisily quarrelsome. Celebrated within the "male" resistance mythologies of Carnival, the *jamette* is nevertheless an object of scorn and derision when decontextualized from the colonialist class struggle and situated in the context of gender and social relations within the "national" Self.

A privileged source revealing the "male" attitude towards women is the calypso, a musical form which developed in the context of stick-fighting and Carnival, and whose lyrics are widely known, sung, and debated in the society at large. J.D. Elder (1966:91, 110) claims that *carisoës* (from which calypsoes were in part derived) were originally female banter songs sung, in the intervals between stick-fights, but taken over by men after the

14. In the context of the French colonial system, *jamet* (masculine) or *jamette* (feminine) were the *patois* words used to denote those who lived on the "periphery" or "below" polite and respectable society. These words referred to the subaltern and lower classes, or more specifically, to those people who belonged to the so-called "underworld."

15. *Chantwells* were singers and are considered to be the precursors of today's calypso singers.

1884 Peace Preservation Ordinance. Whatever the origins of calypso, it was firmly in the hands of men by the turn of the twentieth century (Rohlehr 1990:213), and continues to be dominated by their "voices." Before the 1960s, few women ventured onto a calypso stage, and of the 120 calypsonians singing in calypso "tents" for the 1992 Carnival season, one hundred of them were men.¹⁶ While Rohlehr (1990:216) warns against taking calypsoes as simple descriptions of social reality, he nevertheless concedes that calypsonians bring into focus many of the issues and attitudes that prevail in Trinidadian society.

In his analysis of over three hundred calypsoes recorded between 1937 and 1940, Rohlehr (1990:213-77) shows how the relationship between men and women was cast as a virtual gender war by male calypsonians. Earlier work by other researchers (for example, Elder 1966; Austin 1976; and Warner 1982) draws the same conclusion about the representation of the male-female relationship in calypsoes. Against a background of poor economic and social conditions, male calypsonians, who were predominantly from the low-income Afro-Trinidadian group, represented their women as generally avaricious, crafty, promiscuous, and unfaithful (Rohlehr 1990:216-51). While the aggressive and transient sexual relationships of men are represented in heroic terms – the "resistor" to domination, the "sweet man" or "saga boy" in sexual exploits – similar behavior among females is cast in a less flattering light. Within the domestic situation, the assertive woman who fights with the traditional stick-fighter's weapons of "big-stick, bottle and stone" is depicted as a violent virago (see, for example, Caresser's 1939 calypso, "Madame Khan," cited in Rohlehr 1990:271).

There is, however, another image of woman that is celebrated in calypsoes, especially in the pre-1970s. She is the ideal woman constructed through a constellation of ideas which link marriage, family, child-rearing, home, yard, and respectability. She epitomizes the "softness" associated with care-giving. This is the image that researchers and local social commentators attribute to the British colonial value system which was based on Victorian middle-class ideals.¹⁷ In this image, the categories of "mother" and "woman" overlap in substantial ways.¹⁸ The calypsonian, Pretender, sermonized in his "Mother's Love" (1937):

16. *Trinidad Express*, March 10, 1992, p. 21.

17. Johnson 1983:178; Powrie 1988:96; Rohlehr 1990:223; Huggins 1992:12; Alexander 1994.

18. See Moore (1988:25-30) and Oakley (1979:613-16) for analyses on the linkages between femininity and motherhood in Western society more generally.

The zenith of a woman's ambition in life
 Should be to be a loving mother and a pleasing wife
 For thus they are by nature intended. (Rohlehr 1990:225)

Atilla expressed the desired norms for women in "No Comparison" (1938):

all the old-fashioned girl asked of life
 was to be help-mate, mother and wife. (Rohlehr 1990:223)

It was the "mother" figure, however, that evoked total admiration from the male calypsonian. Caresser, for example, spelt out the role and meaning of motherhood in his 1937 calypso, "Warning to Men, Women and Children about Their Parents" (cited in Rohlehr, 1990:225). In practice though, the glorified role of woman-as-mother was often mired in contradiction and conflict. Honored as "mother" in the abstract, the woman was nevertheless devalued as "wife." Rohlehr notes that 68 percent of the marriageable women of Atilla's day had not achieved his norm of woman as help-mate and wife (1990:223). Further, most of the calypsonians who glorified the ideal of the nuclear family also sang more calypsoes about the burdens of marriage, the joys of bachelorhood, and the infidelity of wives and women in general (Rohlehr 1990:223). "Mother" was often the woman who single-handedly raised her children in the absence of fathers. Praised for her sacrifice as "mother," the woman as sexual being was avoided as "wife," yet her sexuality was represented as immorality if she transgressed the often unattainable ideals of a monogamous marriage and "respectability."

This brings us back, then, to the enigmatic figure of the "woman" in the "hard" practices of Carnivals past. Insofar as she shared in the iconoclastic project of her male counterparts against the elite and/or foreign Other, she is valued in the narratives of resistance. Yet, in the context of social relationships within Trinidadian society as a whole, her aggressive and overt sexuality is denigrated by both males and females of all classes as not being properly feminine. The "bacchanal"¹⁹ woman is censored in a way that the "bacchanal" man is not. A case in point was the controversy generated by David Rudder's 1992 calypso "De Long Time Band" in which he celebrates the resistance practices of "long time" (past) Carni-

19. *Bacchanal* is another metaphor lifted from the Carnival to describe certain people and facets of Trinidadian life. It refers to a way of being and behaving that eschews order, control, and restraint. *Bacchanal* is the playful principle of deconstruction and chaos, the antithesis of hierarchically constructed systems of social order. Although Trinidadians are very ambivalent about its value, their usage of the term suggests that it is expressive of the "true nature" of their social identity. The *bacchanal* woman, then, is the individual whose behavior breaks all the social rules of respectable society.

vals. In his calypso, Rudder uses past Carnival characters to conjure up the motif of resistance. A *jamette*, Enid, is cast as heroine who uses her "bottom" to break up the Carnival. While the male characters use their music, their rage, and their boasts of past physical exploits to express their "hardness," Enid uses her body and sexuality to declare her defiance.

Rudder's admiration for the "bacchanal" behavior of the *jamette* woman was censored by Ras Shorty I, himself a calypsonian who, in recent years, has had a religious conversion after a career of singing risqué calypsoes. Shorty approved of Rudder's lyrics "until it got to the part about the woman working she belly inside out and pointing her backside in the direction of Port of Spain."²⁰ Rudder represents all the members of the band as "cocking their bottoms in the direction of town." Significantly, it is only the woman's behavior that draws Ras Shorty's censorship.

Because of the association of "woman" with propriety and domesticity, "respectable" women did not openly participate in the street Carnival before World War II. These women were "respectable" by virtue of their skin color or achievement through marriage, education, or appropriate "feminine" behavior. Insofar as they participated in the Carnival, it was on decorated lorries or under cover of the masquerade. After the war, masks and lorries were abandoned and "respectable" women descended to the streets. At first, they clustered in groups in the middle or at the head of the bands (Powrie 1988:91-102), until eventually, they ended up being more numerous than men in the present Carnival bands.

THE CONTEMPORARY "FEMALE FESTIVAL"

The media representations of the 1992 Carnival are very instructive. They construct an "event" that not only notes the presence of women, but depicts them in images which suggest women's power and dominance over men. The Carnival is gendered in a way not previously done in past representations. Men were always the unmarked category, with differentiations and dominance within the celebration marked in terms of class, skin color, performative styles, and masquerades (see, for example, Hill 1983; Pearse 1988a; Anthony 1989). Differential proportions of men and women were rarely noted, with women subsumed into the class and color categories of their male counterparts. In 1992, however, gender was fore-

20. Shorty's interview in *Sunday Express Living Magazine*, February 23, 1992, p. 2.

grounded as Trinidad's daily newspapers reported the news to the "nation":

Massive turnout of women masqueraders, outnumbering the men by ten to one.

Blaze of color. Women by the thousands. WOMEN, COLOUR, MUSIC and brilliant weather were the major ingredients that went to lay the groundwork for Carnival 1992 which ended in a blaze of glory yesterday.

Yesterday women were again in charge of the Carnival, as far as the masquerade was concerned.

Women were the dominant force Carnival Monday, appearing in all shapes and sizes, white women, red women, brown women, all having a ball and letting it all hang out, the looks on their faces expressing pure delight.²¹

On Ash Wednesday, the *Trinidad Guardian Carnival Magazine* also carried a section on women entitled, "Show me your motion ... and the men?"²²

Supporting these written accounts, the newspapers published pictures of women masqueraders, most of them photographed individually or in groups wearing bikini-like costumes. The cover page of the Carnival Tuesday *Express* of March 3, 1992, for example, carried six pictures of Carnival Monday activity. Four of these were of individual women, one of a group of three women, and the other a broad shot of both women and men in a masquerade band. Similarly, of the fifty-three photos in the Parade of Bands section of the *Express Carnival Souvenir Magazine* (1992), forty-one are exclusively of women, six are of women dancing with a man or being carried on a man's shoulders, and six are wide shots of both men and women in several Carnival masquerade bands. None are of men alone. Footage of Trinidad and Tobago television's coverage of the Parade of Bands also conveys the impression that women are the main participants in the Carnival spectacle. Camera lenses, controlled mostly by men, continually zoom in on the women of a band, and especially on the "wining" scantily-clad women.²³

Interviews with band producers and my own observations do corroborate the media representations of female numerical predominance in the

21. *Trinidad Guardian*, March 3, 1992, p. 1; *Trinidad Guardian*, March 4, 1992, p. 1; *Trinidad Express*, March 3, 1992, p. 1; *Trinidad Express*, March 3, 1992, p. 9 respectively.

22. *Trinidad Guardian Carnival Magazine*, March 4, 1992, p. 52-53.

23. Local translation of the verb "to wind." Wining is a dance performance based on gyrations of the waist and hips in a side to side or circular movements.

masquerade. However, these media representations cannot be taken as simple unmediated reflections of the Carnival "event." Men do participate in the Monday and Tuesday masquerade, albeit in smaller numbers than women. Further, men predominate in the domains of calypso and music bands, and are the leaders and designers of most of the masquerade bands. Also, many men participate in the street celebrations without costume. Much of this male participation is erased in media representations as eyes and lenses are focused mainly on the colorful spectacle, and especially on the "spectacle" of women, unaccompanied by male-escorts, performing on the streets and stages of Port of Spain. The popular perception, then, fed largely by the media, is that Carnival is dominated by women, and therefore, "a female thing." The almost exclusive focus on the woman reveler is not simply a matter of noting her appearance in the annual event, however. She is highlighted both because of who "she" is, and because of her perceived transformation of the "national" festival, itself a gendered symbol in dominant discourse of the Trinidad Self. Women from the so-called "respectable" colors and classes, exposing gym-toned bodies in "envelope" costumes, and "wining" alone, in a line, or with each other get attention because they simultaneously fit and break the stereotype of the female *jamette* Other. They are eminently newsworthy, therefore, and their images fill the pages of the nation's newspapers and television screens. Not all women who take part in Carnival are represented in these images, but because these are the images which best project Trinidadian beauty and "sweetness," they are the ones that are privileged in the largely male-controlled Carnival and media.

Dubbing Carnival "a female festival," then, refers to far more than a simple increase in women revelers. The producers of Carnival, concerned with projecting a Self that is distinctively Other, have been concerned with packaging a Self that would sell internationally to those who scavenge the earth in search of new experiences (see, for example, MacCannell 1976: 13). With the "masculine" values of rationalism, competition, and work appropriated by industrialized nations, the Trinidadian Self is represented in popular nationalist narratives as sweet, sensual, playful, exotic, and beautiful. In Trinidad and elsewhere, these are the distinctive attributes of femininity. The female masquerader, therefore, unapologetic in her self-exposure, sensual in her performance, and beautiful in appearance, has become the quintessential metaphor of Carnival, and by extension, of the "national" Self. Included in the image of Carnival's feminization is a host of other qualities stereotypically attributed to "femaleness": prissiness, frivolity, passivity, consumerism, and softness. But herein lies the dilemma for Trinidad's nation-builders. Carnival, interpreted as site of resistance and cradle of "local" culture, has traditionally been represented as male. The woman-as-mother, while co-opted as symbol of the independent

nation, is non-represented in that creative process. Her role is that of maintaining, not producing "local culture" largely understood as steelband, calypso, and mas' making. Idealized women have always been confined to separate "private" spaces, traditionally conceived of as agents of the respectable culture against which their menfolk struggled.

With femininity effectively written out of the script, Carnival, and by extension, "national" culture is easily represented as the invention of the masculine Self. Yet paradoxically, the new born "culture" is not male, but female. The logic of Self construction in the international world order requires packaged differences among nations. As Joanne Sharp (1996:105-6) has noted,

the constitution of a nation is not only a process which occurs within the confines of a nation itself: national identity is also constructed through engagements with the international realm. The daily plebiscite of national identification constructs not only the national "us" but also "them," those who are outside and different.

With the "hard" values already "spoken for" by northern industrialized nations, the state and Carnival producers have been elaborating on images found in popular discourse, both local and foreign, about the sensual and playful Other of the tropics (see, for example, Parker 1992:7-29). Consequently, the Trinidadian woman is co-opted and projected as the image of the sensual Other.

Motherhood and sensuality are oppositional concepts in Trinidadian gender discourse, however. One suggests respectability, religiosity, sacrifice, and permanent commitment, the other playfulness, promiscuity, fickleness, and transience. However, both images are feminine, and have been used by the male architects of the Trinidadian Self to imagine and constitute the nation, albeit for different purposes: the shadowy "mother" quietly nurturing her producer-sons, the "sensual beauty" embodying their creative cultural endeavors. Yet it is far too simplistic to interpret women's increased involvement in Carnival as simply the creation of men. While I concede that the Carnival "event" is still largely constructed and directed by men, it is clear that women are not simply performing the feminine roles ascribed to them by the society at large. Just as an older generation of men inverted and subverted the norms of a colonial society, modern women are playing mas' with the nationalist narrative which reduces women either to shadowy subordinates or to the "pretty" products of the male enterprise. In the modern Carnival, notions of femininity and masculinity are deconstructed and reconstructed; so, too, are concepts of "softness" and "hardness." Not unexpectedly, King Carnival's sex change is the topic of much discussion and debate in the society at large.

THE CARNIVAL "GONE SOFT"

The present-day Carnival is frequently conceptualized as the transformation of a former, more authentic Carnival which is represented as working or under-class male and black. David Rudder, a popular calypsonian noted for his calypsoes which celebrate "black" cultural roots and resistance motifs, complained in his 1992 calypso "De Long Time Band":

Enough is enough! shout Little Man,
As he pull out his ancient tenor pan²⁴
The Carnival gone soft and that is a fact,
So I going in town and bring it back

To make Carnival "hard" again, Rudder invoked the image of the "long time" Carnival masqueraders and revelers who, following "little man" in a Carnival band, "cock" various parts of their anatomy in the air – for example, their buttocks and mouths – in order to rescue Carnival from its present "softness." The word "cock" carries with it connotations of maleness in Trinidad. As a noun, it describes the adult male of the domestic fowl, the penis (usually considered a vulgar usage), and men with a certain swagger or arrogance. As a verb, "to cock" is expressive of proud defiance and lack of decorum, and could be used to describe the behavior of both women and men. It is, however, a profoundly "male" attribute and Rudder uses it metaphorically to wrest the Carnival from the "hoity toits" (middle classes) who presently control it. The contest between "little man" and the "hoity toits," between Carnivals past and present is, therefore, cast as a contest between hardness and softness, resistance and complicity, maleness and femaleness.

The pacification or "softening" of Carnival has also been the target of criticism leveled at the modern festival by several commentators. Papers by a local newspaper columnist, Kim Johnson (1983), and anthropologists Daniel Crowley (1983) and John Stewart (1986) attribute recent developments in Carnival to its appropriation as official "national" culture by the middle classes who have defused its potential for resistance. The authors, all men, assume a more authentic version in the past against which the modern Carnival must be measured. What is interesting, however, is the way the shift is conceived of in terms of gender. For Johnson (1983:199),

the ethos of capitalism has shifted, at least for the middle class (and to a lesser extent for the working class as well) from one of production-and-

24. Steel drums are locally referred to as "pans." A "tenor pan" is a particular kind of steel drum.

work to one of consumption-and-fun, and many middle class women find themselves as the bearers of this ideology having broken away from the repressive victorianism of the 1930s.

Not only is Carnival "a women's festival, or a festival of women" (Johnson 1983:197), women are held directly responsible for the spread of the "debased" and "bankrupt" middle-class ethos. Johnson typically slots "woman" into the role reserved for her in traditional gender analyses of Caribbean societies: the "soft" border between the resisting Self and the dominant Other, the consumer and bearer of Eurocentric value systems because of her supposed closer association with the "master" class during slavery (see, for example, Wilson 1973). This theme of female promiscuity and complicity with the dominant "massa" or foreign Other has been further perpetuated through calypsoes of the "Rum and Coca Cola" type which represent both mother and daughter "working for the Yankee dollar" during and after World War II when American servicemen were stationed on the island.

The anthropologist Daniel Crowley was one of the first group of scholars to publish an academic study on Carnival in the mid-1950s. His "Traditional Masques of Carnival" attempts both to document the masquerades of the Trinidad Carnival and to uncover the origins of particular masking traditions. Invited back to Trinidad in the early 1980s to participate in a seminar on Carnival, Crowley was critical of the new shape and ethos of Carnival (1983:221-25). Claiming that Carnival is "always a festival of reversal," Crowley pleaded that it not be turned into a "goody, goody national festival, a show-case on the world." For him, Carnival is best persecuted if it is to remain authentic (1983:221). He diagnosed the current Carnival as "sick" because it no longer had any "guts" to it, it was too "nicey-nice." Again, for Crowley (1983:223) the lack of "guts," Rudder's "softness," is directly linked to the predominance of women:

One of the reasons why young men are probably not out there in the streets anymore as they were thirty years ago, is that there is no challenge in the streets – the reason why the carnival is the possession now of women and children. It's that the fun has gone out of it, there is no swashbuckling challenge for young men. There is no way to make the kind of points young men feel strongly about. In contrast, Brazilian carnivals are about 85 percent young men from the ages of 15 to 25. 85 percent! That's a lot.

This view is not peculiar to Johnson and Crowley. During my fieldwork, I heard variations of this perspective, both in the media and in conversations, and mostly from men who were either veteran masqueraders or who saw the festival as the privileged space of "national" or "black"

resistance. Carnival has been "softened" and neutralized, the effect and/or cause of the predominance of women revelers. The "soft and sensual" post-Independence Queen has usurped the throne of the "hard and mean" pre-Independence King.

THE USURPATION OF THE CARNIVAL THRONE

The entry of women onto the Carnival stage could be considered dramatic in two ways. First, women outnumber men in the masquerade bands, and no longer depend on men to protect them from unwanted "interference" from predatory males. Women form groups to "play mas" together, often leaving their male partners who play in another section of the band or stay at home to care for children.²⁵ Second, at Carnival time, women no longer behave in accordance with the tenets of "respectability" expected of them from society at large. Particularly shocking for both male and female Trinidadians is the behavior of women, considered "respectable" by virtue of color, class, or professional standing, who wine and gyrate on the streets and Savannah stage in skimpy costumes. Not all women wine and jam or wear revealing costumes, but this is the image that is projected in the media, paradoxically both to express national moral outrage at the "fall of Carnival" through its association with debased womenfolk, and to sell Carnival internationally on the tourist market as the exotic "Greatest Show on Earth."

Women are not unaware of the impact of their performance on the nation. Pre- and post-Carnival television- and radio talk-shows continuously analyze this "new phenomenon,"²⁶ while newspaper columns and letters-to-the-editor are full of admonitions and advice to women masqueraders at Carnival time. A "Clean Carnival Person," in a letter to both "my dear ladies" and "TV cameramen" in the *Trinidad Guardian*, beseeched the former to respect themselves and act as "good role models for children in particular or budding young ladies coming up." The cameramen were asked not "to focus your cameras on vulgarity as you know children are your main viewers."²⁷ *The Catholic News*, in a catechetical lesson for students, approved of Carnival, but disapproved of its excesses. Among the excesses named are "the ever-increasing

25. See, for example, *Trinidad Express*, February 29, 1992, p. 23.

26. Women's behavior in Carnival has always been put under intense scrutiny by the "respectable" classes of Trinidadian society. So, in one sense, the current debate is not really new. The phenomenon could be considered new, however, because of the numbers, behavior, and "kind" of women involved in the modern Carnival.

27. *Trinidad Guardian*, February 28, 1992, p. 8.

skimpiness of the designs for women" and "the shameless wining of our womenfolk before the TV cameras."²⁸

For many, especially men, the most disturbing thing about the woman in contemporary Carnival is that her performance is not overtly directed at the male. Wining *with*, *on*, or *for* men, while considered "vulgar" and "obscene," is still within the range of possibility for women. After all, *jamettes* are still the shadow side of the idealized "wife-mother" complex. However, women, among them wives and mothers, dressed in "provocative" costumes and wining alone, or on other women, or on "anything," are anomalies who not only introduce a new category of "woman," but subvert the male-female dynamic on which older images were built.

A fundamental assumption underpinning the traditional male-female relationship is the belief that a female's dress and behavior is part of an elaborate invitational "mating ritual." At Carnival, however, many women do not seem interested in inviting or seducing men, nor do they seem to care with whom or on whom they wine. Narratives among women abound about men who misread women's behavior at Carnival and ended up being verbally and physically abused for "trespassing." In one incident, about which I heard several versions, a scantily-clad woman masquerader had wine and gyrated for the benefit of a male tourist with a camcorder. When her performance ended, he had tried to "interfere"²⁹ with her. The women story-tellers then gleefully recounted how the female protagonist verbally abused him and broke up his camera. By radically disconnecting the concept of "woman" from the conventional male-female dynamic, the "Carnival woman" both undermines the traditional images of women as "mother/wife" or *jamette*, and proposes new terms on which the female/male relationship should be built, if at all.

That men (and women) find the auto-eroticism of women's behavior in contemporary Carnival alarming is evident from newspaper comments on the issue. Male interpretations hint darkly of rampant lesbianism, or more broadly, of the spread of individualism in society at large. One newspaper columnist, a male university lecturer, Ken Ramchand, declared:

if the girl in front of me wants to wine like a ball of twine, I am the straight man, the piece of stick from which the twine wines and unwinds. From the center of the storm, as it were, I now look at the "gyre/girl" gyrating out there. She is not dancing for me. She is not dancing for that handsome buster who has been eyeing her all night. She is not even

28. *The Catholic News*, February 23, 1992, p. 12.

29. "To interfere" carries a range of meanings when used by Trinidadians in this social context. These meanings include touching, pinching, or making a pass.

dancing for herself. She is alone and mechanical. She doesn't think she is being sexy. I don't think she is being sexy. She is not sexy. Sexy is the furthest thing from her mind.³⁰

Clearly, then, the phenomenon of the modern female masquerader, whether construed as compliant, frivolous, lesbian, individualistic, or the cause and effect of moral and social decay, is considered very problematic by some influential sectors and individuals in Trinidadian society. The controversies that the yearly appearance of women in Carnival generates suggest that the issue is multi-layered. These controversies involve questions about appropriate female behavior, the nature of the male-female relationship, the construction of womanhood, and ultimately, about women's role in the nation and the representation of the national Self.

PLAYING MAS' WITH GENDER

I suggest that far from being "domesticated" as argued by Crowley and others, Carnival remains as much the site of iconoclastic practices as it was for the male (and female) masqueraders of old. Granted, the Self-Other configuration has changed, and so, too, has the idiom of resistance. But oppositional themes do persist. The swashbuckling males have been replaced by swashbuckling females whose "rebellion" is not against the "white" colonial regime and its elite cohorts (a contest that is largely over), but against the male control of the definition, behavior, and expectations of "woman" in the national community. Further, sexuality has replaced aggression as the idiom of defiance (Miller 1991). The female body has become the vehicle, the mass of females (not the costume) has become the masquerade. The open flaunting and display of the sensual female form is as provocative and subversive of the status quo as the hordes of male maskers who dominated the streets of former Carnivals, armed with their sticks, beating their drums, and singing their "battle" songs. Many of these men had appropriated the caricature of the "black" male constructed in colonial discourse – savage, aggressive, wild, lascivious – and used this image in a menacing way to fight back. Caricaturing the caricature has always been part of the masquerade and calypso traditions in Carnival. The *jab jab*³¹ with his blackened body and the "Congo Man"³² who cooked and ate two "white" women in Africa in

30. *Trinidad Guardian*, August 27, 1992.

31. *Jab* is the patois word from the French *diable* (devil). The *jab jab* is a popular masquerade.

32. The popular calypso, "Congo Man," first released by the calypsonian the Mighty Sparrow in 1965, is about an African cannibal headhunter who "ate" two

Sparrow's calypso are but two examples of this tradition in the Trinidad Carnival. Women, unmasked and exposed, are now employing the same strategy. Shadowy figures in the "male" Carnivals of the past, women are "singing back" in calypsoes,³³ wining back in public spaces, and stepping out of male fantasies and pin-ups to tease and provoke their "creators." Their behavior is not primarily about sexuality, if it is about that at all, but about self-assertion, self-expression, defiance, and absolute freedom (Miller 1991) in the context of the so-called "gender war," one side of which has been so well documented by male calypsonians.

Despite this analysis, my women interviewees did not interpret their behavior in oppositional terms, however. Nor was sexuality high on their agenda as a reason for *playing mas'*. More often than not, my inquiries about their participation were met with incomprehension, a sure sign that, for these women, the answer was quite self-evident. When pressed, however, almost all described the Carnival experience in terms of freedom, pleasure, and self-expression. Samples of the typical responses I got to my question were:

It's a must. I love the music and it's a chance to get together with friends.
(Teacher 40+ years old)

For the pleasure of enjoying the music and the infectious sense of camaraderie. (Secretary 20+)

For sheer enjoyment. I love music and dancing. It's like a non-stop party on the move. (Teacher 20+)

A chance to be myself. During the year I can't walk down the street with a beer bottle in my hand – people would talk, especially customers who come to the bank. Carnival time is my time to free up. (Bank official 40+)

white women travelers in the Congo. The calypso ostensibly refers to cannibalism, but it is full of sexual innuendoes. Both feminists and "black consciousness" groups in Trinidad have vehemently objected to the calypso's content, albeit for different reasons. Some women were offended because Sparrow seems to be glorifying rape. Some Afro-Trinidadians, on the other hand, criticized Sparrow for perpetuating the stereotype of the "black" male as a savage, lascivious cannibal. I suggest, however, that Sparrow's "Congo Man" is a good example of the carnivalesque appropriation of the stereotype to caricature the caricature. As such, the calypso can be interpreted as a strategy of playfully using the caricature to turn it back in a menacing way on the colonial world which created the caricature in the first place.

33. Examples of popular calypsoes sung by women which explicitly deal with the male-female relationship are "Runaway" (Singing Francine 1978), "Dignity" (Singing Sandra 1987), and "Woman is Boss" (Denyse Plummer 1987) (see Ottley 1992).

For total enjoyment and to help me cope with living the rest of the year.
My time to free up. (Homemaker 20+)

I am a Trini – what do you expect? There is no other time like Carnival
for me – this is my time to get on “bad.” (Salesclerk 30+)

Carnival is experienced as pleasurable because it affords the woman space to be herself, especially that part of the self historically subjected to social regulation and upon which her worth as a person depended. I refer here to a woman's sexuality and to her body in which it is grounded. In theory and practice, “pleasure” was never considered the proper attribute of the woman as “mother.” A source of pleasure and nurturing for others, she was denied pleasure for herself. Sacrificial care-giving, so valorized in the image of the “strong” woman of Caribbean literature and folk narratives, was assumed to be the “zenith of a woman's ambition in life” (Pretender's 1937 calypso, “Mother's Love”). Her public indulgence in “pleasurable” pursuits, then, and especially those located in the body – movement, dance, dress (or lack of it), and sensuality – can best be interpreted as an act of rebellion against the social codes and practices which define and constrain her life during the year. For women, Carnival is the expression of, and achievement of, freedom. Women literally become “out of control,” playing mas', if only temporarily, with the role assigned to them in the national scheme of things.

There are several ways in which the women of Carnival transgress and disrupt the norms of society, especially as these relate to gendered identities and relationships. By appropriating for themselves the male public space historically represented as the womb from which “indigenous culture” was conceived and nurtured (cf. Stewart 1986:305), Carnival women subvert the notion of a gendered division of space and social behavior which has been the framework through which Caribbean societies have been understood and constructed. Their “take-over” of the street blurs the line between rude and serious (Abrahams 1983), inside and outside (Miller 1991), and street and yard (Wilson 1973), and forces their inclusion in the performance of the “national” script. But not only is public space re-gendered, so, too, is behavior. The “rudeness” and “slackness” associated with men is co-opted by women, and transformed into an idiom of sensuality. Pleasure is achieved, not simply through the practice of dancing, movement and masquerade, but from the thrill of “breaking the rules” and “getting on bad,” or what Leslie Gotfrit (1991:180) calls “the pleasure located in naughtiness.” Further, women dancing alone or in groups, in a Carnival space historically dominated by men and heterosexual couples, defy the social norm which requires the presence of men both to pleasure and protect women in public spaces. In a society where

males have traditionally believed in their own remarkable powers of seduction (Rohlehr 1990:226), scantily clothed women, assertively defending themselves against the unwanted attention of predatory males, can surely be interpreted as an act of "resistance" or "hardness." This certainly is the image of the Carnival woman that David Rudder paints in another of his 1992 calypsoes, "Carnival Woman" which he sings "for the sistren."

It must be acknowledged, however, that women's oppositional behavior is inscribed within an ideological and festival space that is still largely controlled and defined by men. The government organizers of the "national fête," the costume designers, the band producers, the music makers, and the calypsonians are predominantly male which suggests, on the surface, that women are the uncritical consumers of a male-produced Carnival script, including its ethos and practice of scandal, confusion, bacchanal, and sexual ribaldry. Stereotypes of "sensuous" femininity and "macho" masculinity are reproduced in many of the costume designs, and calypso lyrics continue, in part, to trivialize, caricature, and ridicule women. More often than not, the amplified soca "voice" that orders women revelers to "bump and grind" is that of a male singer. Women are, therefore, caught at intersections of consent and resistance, self-expression and reaction, pleasure and guilt, agency and passivity, manipulation and active appropriation, commoditization and rebellion. Women's oppositional practices, embedded in the logic of an identity discourse which posits a Self-Other dichotomy, assume the definition of a Self that is defined over and against the male-Other, an exotic "soft" national Self defined over and against the "hard" technologically-advanced nations. Not unlike the masculinist architects of the nationalist project, women masqueraders are shaped by what they oppose. Granted, the "object" of male desire and dominance is transformed into a "subject," who rebelliously uses her sensuality to provoke and tease. Nevertheless, as "female," women are positioned within a set of practices and discourses that are both male-defined and dominated. "Woman" remains a contradictory and paradoxical figure, therefore, negotiating spaces between compromise and rebellion, sociality and bacchanal, yard and street, "mother" and "*jamette*."

As "female," then, present-day Carnival is the logical result of the hegemonic script which divides the world into North and South, into "nations" that are "developed," "progressive," and "hard," and those that are "developing," "exotic," and "soft." For Trinidad and Tobago's largely male nation-builders, the global political economy, with its attendant trafficking in different "exotic" cultures, demands such a projection. Within "the nation," however, the "female" Carnival is far more problematic. As the out-of-control Woman, Carnival symbolically represents, for many, an out-of-control nation where traditional gender

roles and expectations are overturned and tenets of the "male" dominated nationalist project radically undermined. Yet again, the Carnival is both registering and fueling another Trinidadian social contest. The resolution of this contest demands a new look, by both women and men, at the gendered and other assumptions on which the nationalist project in Trinidad and Tobago is based, as well as critical and creative responses by women themselves to their roles in representing and making "the nation."

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NAMES AND NAMING IN AFRO-CARIBBEAN CULTURES

INTRODUCTION

Followers of West Indian cricket will have noted the recent emergence of new fast-bowling "prospect" from St. Vincent named Nixon McLean – or, rather, Nixon Alexei McNamara McLean, for thus did his father, Vincent Truman MacArthur McLean, choose to style the first-born of his children, who would in course be joined by two further sons, Kissinger McLean and Reagan McLean, and a sister, Golda Meir McLean. When he was chosen to play for the West Indies "A" against England in Jamaica in January 1998, Nixon found himself playing alongside a local batsman called Wavell (or Wayvill) Hinds, just the latest in a long line of West Indian sportsmen to be named after this or that British general or politician: the Jamaican fast bowler Balfour Patrick Patterson, Gladstone Small of Barbados, Warwickshire, and England, the Winstons Benjamin and Davis, and the former Canadian-Jamaican sprinter Attlee Mabon, Clement also being a common first name amongst West Indian males born in the late 1940s, though I have yet to meet an Antiguan Aneurin or a Tobagonian Cripps.

Broadening somewhat the area of enquiry, the popularity of Hugh as a boy's name in Jamaica in the mid 1950s was due to the popularity of the island's last colonial governor Sir Hugh Foot, brother of Michael and father of Paul, and naming boys after colonial governors was a practice encountered throughout the British Caribbean: the "real name" of the well-known Trinidadian calypsonian and former school-teacher Mighty Chalkdust, or Chalky, is, for example, Hollis Liverpool, after the popular 1940s governor of Trinidad and Tobago, Sir Claude Hollis. The first name Orde (after the Chindit leader Orde Wingate) was widely bestowed on West Indian boys born during the Second World War, and I assume that

the original diffusion of the still popular Lloyd is a tribute to the First World War leadership of David Lloyd George; I would also be prepared to bet that the first name of the greatest West Indian cricketer of all, Garfield Sobers, has some distant link with President James Abram Garfield of the United States, assassinated in 1881, exactly at the time when the first Barbadian migrants were arriving in America.

Finally, and still, inevitably, on the subject of cricket, there is the curious incident recalled by the England bowler Angus Fraser in a recent interview in *The Guardian*. Asked "What is the strangest fan mail you have received?," Fraser replied: "After we won the Test in Jamaica in 1990, a local resident sent me a copy of a birth certificate. His son had been named after all eleven players in the England team."¹ Just think of it: at this very moment, out there in Mandeville or May Pen, there is a nine- or ten-year-old Jamaican boy named Gooch Larkins Stewart Lamb Smith Hussein Capel Russell Small Fraser Malcolm (or perhaps Graham Wayne Alec Alan Robin Nasser David Jack Gladstone Angus Devon), and answering – who knows? – to the nickname "Goochie," "Judge," "Naz," or "Gladys,"² nicknames being, as we shall see, arguably even more important than given names in Afro-Caribbean male culture.

Of course, naming a child after an admired sportsman, or even a whole team, is not unknown in metropolitan cultures, and English readers of a certain age will dimly recall the Liverpool supporter who, after much scouting around for a compliant Catholic priest, had *his daughter* baptized after the full Liverpool team playing on the day she was born, beginning, if memory serves, Lawrence Milne Moran and ending Callaghan Heighway St. John. But this Liverpoolian headcase was at least naming his daughter after *his* team, whereas, almost forty years later, his Jamaican counterpart – and the difference is crucial – named his son after a team representing the former colonial "masters" who, moreover, had just *defeated* "his" team, for the first time in sixteen years, it is true, but wholly unexpectedly and by the decisive margin of nine wickets.

Furthermore, though little Goochie's Dad cannot have known this, there were good historical precedents for his exercise in onomastic overkill. In the 1920s and 1930s – and we have this on the authority of the great Learie Constantine, no less – it was common for West Indian mothers to name their new-born children after this or that member of the visiting MCC team: "When visiting MCC teams come to the West Indies, so great is the admiration for their prowess that hundreds of little black babies are named after them, sometimes using the white players' Christian

1 See *The Guardian*, February 13, 1998.

2 The nicknames of, respectively, Graham Gooch, Robin Smith, Nasser Hussein, and Gladstone Small.

names, but often using their whole name" (Constantine n.d.:78). It appears that the name Hammond, after the Gloucestershire and England all-rounder Walter Hammond, was especially popular, though this, I suspect, may be due to the fact that, notoriously, it was not just with his bat that the prolific Hammond scored heavily, and it has been plausibly conjectured that he contracted venereal disease in British Guiana while playing there for the MCC touring team of 1926 (Foot 1996:19-22 and 36-56). In explanation of his illness, Hammond would claim that he had strained his groin while in British Guiana and was then bitten by mosquitoes "in the same region," though it is not clear from my source whether by that he means B.G. or his groin: maybe both?

ONOMASTICS IN THE ANGLOPHONE WORLD

If I begin on a note of some levity, it is because thirty years of studying and visiting the Caribbean have convinced me that things are never so serious as when they're in jest and that, in the instance that concerns us, West Indians' *playing with names*, hilarious though its results often are to outsiders, is part and parcel of the "deep play" that is Afro-Caribbean culture in general.³ "Jamaicans enjoy naming things," David DeCamp (1960:15-23), one of the few anthropologists or linguists to have discussed the phenomenon, wrote, giving as typical sources of "onomastic delight" place names such as Corn-Puss Gap, Look Behind, and the incomparable Me No Sen' You No Come, as well as the names Jamaican cart-owners give to their means of livelihood, names that range from the party political ("Busta Special") and the racially self-assertive ("Kikuyu," "Kenyatta," "Marcus Garvey") or angry ("Black and Hungry") to the romantically fanciful ("Romeo," "Honey Love") or psychologically revealing ("Don't Gamble With Love," "Leave Me Alone").

Similar treasures have been collected by observers of collective taxis in Haiti, the famous *tap-taps* ("Effort et Volonté," "Enfant de la Veuve," "Quand Même," "Buscando la Vida," "L'Œil du Maître," and so on [Dillard, 1976:66], Martinican fishing boats ("Revanche à Mes Parents," "Le Jour est Arrivé," "La Jeunesse Belle Mussieu" [Price & Price 1966:157-60]), cars in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands and other such items of everyday life which, it has been said, West Indians are almost congenitally loath to abandon to "the neutrality of anonymity" (Leiris 1950:1408).

But it is, of course, where people are concerned that the West Indian

3 The reference is, of course, to Clifford Geertz's classic essay "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" (1973).

preoccupation with, and flair for, naming is most in evidence, and it is conventional to trace back this preoccupation to slavery and to explain it as a consequence of, or as a self-conscious counter to, the alleged practice of stripping slaves of their African names on their arrival in the Caribbean and of "refitting" them and their creole-born children with European names of, it is said, a deliberately derisive or mock-heroic character: Cicero, Charlemagne, Cleopatra, or Juno. That such name-stripping and -substitution occurred is not to be doubted, and there is also clear evidence that it was sometimes creole slaves, and not their masters, who conferred European-style names on new African arrivants.⁴ Finally, of course, both creole and, in time, African-born slaves would, it is argued, "naturally" give European or European-derived names to their offspring.

Statistical evidence from the Worthy Park and Drax Hall Estates in Jamaica seems abundantly to demonstrate a gradual but comprehensive replacement of African by European names in the second half of the eighteenth century. Thus 26.3 percent of the slaves at Worthy Park in 1730 had Akan or other African-derived day-names but only an average of 4.8 percent were so named between 1783 and 1838 (Craton 1978:156) – this clearly reflects a drop in the proportion of "Saltwater" or African-born slaves, as well as the alleged effects of creolization – while at Drax Hall, over 50 percent of slaves (178 out of 345) had African names in 1735, compared with 24.6 percent (85 out of 325) in 1753 and 19.5 percent (66 out of 339) in 1780; by 1817, only 21 slaves out of 345 (6.1 percent) had African names, even though 64 (18.6 percent) were listed as being African-born (Armstrong 1990:37). These figures have led the historian Michael Craton to conclude, reasonably enough, that slaves names "provide perhaps the best proof of acculturation or creolization" and that "the gradual, and almost certainly voluntary, shift in the types of names – from a majority of African names to an increasing number of single English names, and to the first Christian names with surnames – provides a telling index of the decline of African influences and the increasing influence of Creole, Christian, and status norms" (Craton 1978:156).

Caution, however, is in order, for there is clear – and, for my purpose, crucial – evidence, in, for example Thomas Thistlewood's plantation diary,⁵ that slaves commonly used two, three, or even more names

4 See, for example, the entry for May 25, 1754 in Thomas Thistlewood's diary: "Mr. Cope sent an Ebo Negro man (a new Negro) he bought today. Our Negroes have named him Hector. I put him to live with London" (Hall 1989:63).

5 See, for example, the entry of December 7, 1761 in which Thistlewood gives the "country names" of various of his slaves: Maria (Ogo), Pompey (Oworia), Will (Abasse). "Dick" is described as having the "country name Sawanno, alias Dowotronny," clearly indicating the existence of multiple nomenclatures (Hall 1989:124-25).

according to context and circumstance: an African name when talking to Africans, for example, an "official" European-style name when addressing – or, rather, being addressed by – Massa or Busha, and a further name or nickname, European in form but indigenous in substance, when speaking to other creole slaves, though even this formulation probably simplifies a much more complex reality. Moreover, even though African-derived day-names were a rarity in Jamaica after 1800 (De Camp 1967), many of them survived un- or semi-detected beneath a European onomastic veneer: Cudjoe as Joe, Kofi as Coffee or Cuffee, Quaco as Jacko, Abba as Abby, Phibbah as Phoebe, and so on (Craton 1978:157), and it is entirely possible, for example, that, under the apparently 100 percent European name Phoebe Cooper, Akan Phibbah's Cubah, Cubah daughter of Phibbah, lurks cryptonymically (Dillard 1976:17).

As for the European-style names given to, or voluntarily assumed by, slaves both African and creole, these are in general far more commonplace than the Hannibals and Boadiceas of legend. To be sure, the Worthy Park registers contain their share of "Pompeys," "Pitts," and "Hercules" (Craton 1978:157) (as well as "Strumpets" and "Ravefaces"), but most of the names conferred by the masters, or adopted by slaves on their own initiative, are straightforward enough, with "Mary," "Jim," "Dick," "Polly," and the like being overwhelmingly preponderant, either used on their own or reinforced with some rough-and-ready indication of the bearer's origin ("Congo Jack"), color ("Mulatto Kitty"), position ("Driver Sam"), or parentage ("Abba's Mary," "Nancy's Jane"). Finally, to repeat, there is evidence, from Worthy Park and elsewhere, even prior to Christianization, of intermittent changes of name, suggesting that a significant proportion of slaves enjoyed dual or even multiple identities in a way, presumably, that could not but exasperate and confuse their owners.

With the spread of missionary activity, first black then white, amongst slaves from the 1780s onwards, the situation became considerably more complex, for while some slaves resisted baptism and the change or modification of name that it often implied, there seems little doubt that the overwhelming majority not only accepted but actively sought it, though not always for the religious – in the narrow, "European," sense of the word – reasons that the missionaries hoped for. The account in the anonymous Jamaican novel *Marly* of 1828 maintains that the slaves believed that "the African deity Obi had no power over those who were baptized" and that it was in order to ensure "dat Obeah no more him kill" that, as "Trajan" puts it, "eberry one neger want to be kirstened in de buckra fashion." There follows what is plainly an eye-witness account of

a mass baptism of slaves which, so crucial are the insights it affords, needs to be cited in full:

The negroes, on being informed that they were to be baptized, were quite elated and in high spirits at the idea of becoming Christians like the buckras, and by the time the parson came upon the estate, Christian names and surnames, were fixed for each of the people. In general, they took the surname of the proprietor, attorney, or those of the white people on the property, in place of their former African or heathen appellations; their first names, however, being the ones in common use as those they were most familiar with; their new or Christian ones, being reserved as a resource for uncommon occasions, if such should ever happen. Many days did not elapse, before the clergyman sent notice of the time when he would attend, and the negroes were desired to attire themselves in their best apparel, and to be all in readiness on the appointed day. Accordingly, when the parson made his appearance, the people were assembled and placed in rows, when the clergyman made them members of the Christian church, after admonishing them to be good, and to beware and not steal, as also some other matters, which went in at the one ear, but unfortunately, as most of the people said, escaped instantaneously out by the other. The ceremony was performed in the course of a short time, in the presence of the white people on the estate, and a large party of overseers from the adjoining properties. After dinner, to which the clergyman waited, a negro ball succeeded, which finished the day, and seemed to afford the negroes rather more pleasure than the baptism; few, if any of them, being able to comprehend the greatness of the virtue in a little water, and the clergyman's "speakee" a little over them. And next morning, jaded and fatigued with the night's dissipation, their former routine of labour commenced. They felt proud, however, of being Christians, like the buckras, in place of being heathens, as the preceding day had seen them; but a considerable time elapsed, before they could recollect their new names, which was a source of no small vexation to the book-keepers, who were considerably teased, with the frequent enquiries which they made, to tell them their Christian names. (Anon. 1828:130-33)

The evidence from Worthy Park confirms the general validity of "Marly"'s obviously ethnocentric account. While some slaves merely added a surname to their old name on baptism, comical "Big Amelia," for example, duly becoming respectable Amelia Parker, others underwent a complete onomastic metamorphosis: "Mulatto Kitty" becomes Mary Ellis, "Sue's David" William Lord, "Hannibal" Peter Hammel, "Adam" William Parker, "Duncan" John Vinnicombe, "Sambo Sally" Sarah Richards, and so on. Surnames, as "Marly" says, were usually taken from those of plantation whites, overseers, and senior book-keepers as well as the

commonly absentee owners, though missionaries' surnames also did service, whence the diffusion of Knibb, for example, in Jamaica.⁶

Thus it was, in Craton's words (1978:157), that a majority of slaves in the British West Indies "entered freedom in 1838 with two names, like those who were already free." Paradoxically, though, their "free names" were commonly those of their erstwhile owners and masters (or of their surrogates), an anthroponymic corpus which survives to this day and which, when allowance is made for subsequent inter-island migration and for the fact that many owners had properties and slaves in more than one colony, still offers a fairly reliable guide to national origins and identities: the Hindses, Hibberts, Beckfords, Campbells, Camerons, and McMorrises of Jamaica, the Marshalls, Greenidges, and Holders of Barbados, the Gिल्keses of Guyana, Warners of Trinidad, Shillingfords of Dominica, and so on.

The naming practices current in the British West Indian colonies have clear parallels in North American slavery, though there are certain differences that require explanation. As in the Caribbean, the unnamings and renaming of new arrivants from Africa was, for their masters, an integral part of the act of taking possession, as one planter, the aptly nicknamed Robert "King" Carter of Chesapeake Bay recognized in 1727: "I name'd them here & by their names we can always know what sizes they are of & I am sure we repeated them so often to them that everyone knew their names & would readily answer to them" (Berlin 1998:112). The names imposed on newly purchased slaves sometimes alluded to their real or supposed origins ("Senegal," "Santome," "Angola"), and it is interesting to note, in the very earliest stages of North American slavery, the presence of a "Carla Criole," a "Jan Creoli," and a "Christoffel Crioell" (Berlin 1998:50). As in the islands, masters bestowed classical or literary names – Hercules, Cato, Claudius, Othello – as what Ira Berlin (1998:95) calls "a kind of cosmic jest: the more insignificant the person in the eyes of the planters, the greater the name." Slaves, by definition, were refused surnames because surnames betokened generational continuity and adulthood, both of which owners were anxious to deny. African names, particularly day names, survived, though decreasingly, and the latter lost the precise temporal significance that they had in the parent African cultures; similarly, "Sambo," meaning second son, came to be given indifferently to any male child. When the practice was adapted to English calendar names, a further loss of precision ensued,

6 The reference is to "Knibb the Notorious," one of the most active white missionaries in pre-emancipation Jamaica whose anti-slavery zeal was bitterly resented by the planters.

and a slave named "January" or "Easter" could well have been born in July (Kolchin 1995:45).

Paradoxically, however, the very existence of such solecisms as a July-born "January" indicates that some slaves, at least, were co-creators, or even sole creators, of their names, and not merely passive recipients of whatever label their masters chose to assign them. Some African-born slaves refused point blank to accept the new names in question: "When Quasho Quando's owner attempted to rename him Julius Caesar, Quando simply refused to accept the new identifier – despite his owner's threats, promises, and additional threats" (Berlin 1998:188). Others may not have objected to the classical or literary names with which they had been tricked out. As non-readers of Livy with a living mythology other than Greek, they would not, presumably, have been aware of the derogatory inappropriateness of names such as Hercules or Cato, both of which may have been sufficiently close to African names or other words actually to reinforce, rather than undermine, their sense of themselves; as Eugene Genovese points out (1975:449), *heke* means "large wild animal" in Mende. Furthermore, according to one former slave, Robert Smalls, speaking in 1863, slaves did use what he calls "titles," meaning surnames, amongst themselves, though, significantly and wisely given all that the possession of a surname implied, "before their masters they do not speak of their titles at all" (Kolchin 1995:140). What these secret surnames consisted of is unclear, but the likelihood is that they were not those of their masters. North American slaves appear to have avoided giving children their masters' first names (Kolchin 1995:46), either through hostility or through fear of violating some fundamental taboo, and it is significant in this respect that "some 90 percent of 580 manumitted slaves drawn from a sample of 2,000 whose names were listed in New York's manumission records between 1701 and 1831 had names different from their manumitters" (Berlin 1998:449).

Where former West Indian slaves were often eager, as we have seen, to arrogate the power of their former owner by adopting his or her name, their North American counterparts seem to have opted, where possible, for completely new (but still basically American-style) names. The evidence, however, is confused and far from consistent. Some black soldiers fighting in the Fourth Connecticut Regiment during the American Civil War took highly symbolic surnames like "Freeman," "Newman," and "Liberty," though the first names that accompanied them – "Pomp," "Cuff," and "Primis" in the examples cited by Berlin – remain typical "slave names." Berlin also notes (1998:240) "the singular absence of the names of the great slave-holding families" amongst the names of newly emancipated North American slaves, in very marked contrast to what we have seen to

be the West Indian practice. On the other hand, Genovese (1975:449) cites the testimony of one Texan ex-slave who deliberately went against the otherwise standard practice (as he saw it) of freed men and women taking over the name of their former owners:

The master's name was usually adopted by a slave after he was set free. This was done more because it was the logical thing to do and the easiest way to be identified than it was through affection for the master. Also, the government seemed to be in a almighty hurry to have us get names. We had to register as someone, so we could be citizens. Well, I got to thinking about all us slaves that was going to take the name Fitzpatrick. I made up my mind I'd find me a different one. One of my grandfathers in Africa was called Jeaceo, and so I decided to be Jackson.

Perhaps Martin Jackson was afraid that there would simply be too many Fitzpatricks for him to have a distinctive identity, whereas ex-slaves from smaller units of production – the North American norm – would have no such fears in taking over the name of their ex-owners. One manumitted slave cited by Berlin (1998:321) petitioned the court to change his first name to “save him and his children from degradation and contempt which the minds of some do and will attach to the name of April,” but was equally anxious to preserve his ex-master's name Ellison (which, as Berlin says, may also have been that of his father) not only, as he puts it, as a “mark of gratitude and respect” but, more pragmatically, because it would “greatly advance his interest as a tradesman.”

After emancipation, the naming practices of African-Americans appear to have gone through three main phases, though the differences between these should not be exaggerated, nor should it be forgotten that the names borne, at any one time, by the majority of African-Americans do not distinguish them in any immediate and obvious way from the rest of the population. In the three or four decades following emancipation, African-Americans seem to have systematically avoided, as the example of “April” Ellison suggests, any forenames that might advertise their owners' racial identity, preferring, for both ideological and prudential reasons, to identify themselves publicly as “American” rather than “black” and using a variety of intra-community nicknames to signal their separate identity amongst themselves. Then, perhaps coinciding with the great movement northwards after 1910, some African-Americans began to identify themselves obliquely as “black” through a series of naming practices which, though not confined to African-Americans, seem to have enjoyed a particular currency amongst them and which, in the absence of any systematic study known to me, I will illustrate through the names of leading black American musicians, all of them men, the question of female names requiring separate study.

Thus, as in the Caribbean, the first names and surnames of successful white public figures, principally politicians, were adopted as forenames by black Americans presumably for their exemplary value. Theodore Roosevelt (president 1901-09) proved particularly popular with black parents (whence, in the jazz world, Theodore Shaw "Teddy" Wilson, Theodore Leroy "Teddy" Bunn, Theodore Walters "Sonny" Rollins, plus the blues singer Roosevelt Sykes), and there are numerous similar examples: Miles Dewey Davis (the third in his family to be so named, presumably after Thomas Dewey), Taft Jordan, Wendell Marshall (after Oliver Wendell Holmes), McKinley Howard "Kenny" Dorham (after the assassinated President William McKinley plus, indirectly, General Oliver Otis Howard, chairman of the post-Civil War Freedman's Bureau, after whom Howard University had already been named), and so on. Some parents combined "black" and "white" names, whence the tenor saxophonist Theodore Marcus "Teddy" Edwards and the trombonist Curtis Du Bois Fuller, the Curtis possibly coming from Charles Curtis, the Republican Vice-President from 1929 to 1933; there were also numerous Bookers (Booker T. Ervin Snr. and Jnr., Booker Little).

The practice of using initials as forenames is also to be noted (J.C. Higginbotham, J.J. Johnson), the purpose apparently being to obviate all possibility of derogatory abbreviation, as is the kind of onomastic inventiveness to which we owe the *trouvailles* of Ornette Coleman and Thelonious Sphere Monk. It goes without saying that, amongst the musicians themselves, the nickname rather than the given name would be the standard form of address, and the formally named Charles Christopher Parker and John Birks Gillespie would automatically become the Bird and Dizzy of everyday exchange, whence the plethora of "Beans," "Bubbers," "Rabbits," "Cooties," "Tricky Sams," "Hot Lips's," and "Little Jazz's" and the like which constitute one of the minor pleasures of the music.

Beginning in the 1940s, many black jazz musicians adopted the black Muslim practice of Islamicizing or part Islamicizing their names, with the saxophonist Curtis Porter reinventing himself as Shafi Hadi, the flutist William Evans as Yusef Lateef, and the baritone saxophonist Edmund Gregory as Sahib Shihab, pending the later emergence of the multi-instrumental genius Rahsaan Roland Kirk; the tenor saxophonist Farrell Sanders deftly "Africanized" himself into Pharaoh. None of these changes, however, could match the exemplary metamorphosis of Cassius Marcellus Clay (after the prominent nineteenth-century abolitionist of that name) into Mohammad Ali in the early 1960s. From identity concealed to identity alluded to and thence to identity publicly proclaimed: no doubt the next generation of jazz musicians will contain its due proportion of

Markils, Wakils, Koranjas, and Kalonjis, and, it is to be hoped, more than a few La Quishas, Tashinas, Dreesanas, Kitishas, Tawanas, and Zakiyas, as African-Americans more and more escape the grid of traditional American anthroponymy.

ONOMASTICS IN THE FRANCOPHONE CARIBBEAN

I want now to turn my attention to the French-speaking West Indies, first to colonial Saint-Domingue and then to the onomastic revolution that took place in Martinique after the emancipation of its slaves in 1848. In Catholic Saint-Domingue there had never been, as there frequently was in Protestant Jamaica, any marked resistance by planters to the evangelization and baptism of their slaves; indeed the infamous *Code Noir* of 1685 made formal Christianization obligatory, though in the eighteenth century a combination of religious latitudinarianism and intensified exploitation meant that the requirement was by no means universally put into effect. Instead, as in Jamaica, we find the pressure for baptism coming from the slaves themselves, first from the creoles who, according to Moreau de Saint-Méry's exceptionally well-informed *Description de la partie française de l'île de Saint-Domingue* of 1797, "lay claim, by dint of the baptism they have received, to a great superiority over all the Negroes arriving from Africa," and then from the Africans themselves who, according to the same source, "are extremely eager to get themselves baptized." The reasons given by Moreau for this eagerness are particularly interesting:

At certain periods of the year, such as Easter and Whit Saturdays, when adults are baptized, the [African] Negroes make their way to church, and all too often without any preparation, and with no other concern than to obtain for themselves a godfather [*parrain*] and godmother [*marraine*], who are sometimes assigned to them on the spot, they receive the first Christian sacrament, and so protect themselves against the insult addressed to the non-baptized; even though the creole Negroes still call them "baptized standing up" [*baptisés debout*].

"The respect for Negroes have for their godfather and godmother," Moreau continues, "is pushed so far that it exceeds that which they have for their mother and father," providing the further intelligence that "the Negroes address each other as *brothers* and *sisters* when they have a godfather or godmother in common" (Moreau de Saint-Méry 1958, I:55).

All this confirms what is amply attested throughout the Caribbean, namely the importance slaves everywhere attached to all forms of kinship, whether consanguineous or fictive, particularly that embodied in the term

"shipmate" – *bâtiment* in French creole – used of each other by slaves who had made the Middle Passage together on the same vessel. "Shipmate," wrote Alexander Stewart of slaves in Jamaica, seems "synonymous in their view with brother or sister," while James Kelly's *Voyage to Jamaica* of 1838 tells us that "shipmate is the dearest word and bond of affectionate among the Africans ... they look upon each other's children mutually as their own" (Patterson 1967:150). Small wonder, then, that children addressed their parents' shipmates as "uncle" and "aunt" and that, according to some accounts, sexual intercourse between shipmates was prohibited as incestuous; even today, the terms "mâti" and "sippi" or "sibi" (< "shippi") are used in Suriname to designate an especially intense kind of dyadic relationship between two biologically unrelated individuals (Mintz & Price 1992:44).

In this perspective, baptism, and the change or modification of name it entailed, represented in the first instance a means of broadening and strengthening the slave's network of non-biological kin, an essential prerequisite for survival on the plantation. It further represented an authentic *rite de passage*, not so much from heathendom into Christendom, as from African-ness into West Indian-ness; in a word, as lived by the slaves, baptism into the White Man's religion enacted and figured not their Europeanization, but rather their effective *creolization*; the name of the Other is less an obliteration or alienation, than it is a transmutation or renewal, of identity.

In Martinique following the formal emancipation of slaves in the French Empire on April 27, 1848, a government decree of May 7 announced measures for the setting up of the eloquently named *registres d'individualité* whose task was both to enumerate the newly liberated black population and "to confer names on individuals and families," in conformity with the principles laid down in an earlier decree of 1836 which had allowed free people of color to bear surnames provided that these were not of any existing family "unless express permission is given in writing by all members of that family."⁷ The purpose of this proviso was obvious to everyone: to prevent the situation that had arisen in the British Caribbean when first free people of color and then freed slaves had routinely, and without apparent opposition, taken over the names of their ex-owners or other whites, so blurring any obvious onomastic differences between "black" and "white," differences that the *békés* of Martinique, partly because they were a resident rather than an absentee owner-class, were desperate at all costs to maintain. Bearers, in more cases than not, of aristocratic patronyms such as de Lucy de Fossarieu, Gallet de Saint-Aurin,

7 The present paragraph largely repeats Burton 1994:63-66, where full references may be found.

Cassius de Linval, and de Laguerrigue de Survilliers, the *békés* had resolutely refused to confer their family names on the illegitimate children they had fathered with slave or free colored women; even today it is extremely unusual for a colored Martinican to bear the surname of one of the great *béké* clans, with the result that names in the French overseas departments still function effectively as signifiers of race.

This situation can be traced back directly to 1848 when the *registres d'individualité*, staffed by local and metropolitan whites, were charged with the task of actually inventing surnames for something like 150,000 newly freed blacks who, theoretically, could reject the name the registrars assigned them, but who in practice accepted without question. It was an extraordinary situation and one which, predictably, produced often extraordinary results. On each plantation, the freed slaves filed past a table to receive names dreamed up on the spur of the moment by one or two whites, whose powers of onomastic inventiveness were sorely tested as the process dragged on and on.

Classical literature and history, both ancient and modern, were an obvious resource, whence the profusion of Achéens, Timoléons, Philoctetes, and Césaires in contemporary Martinique. Moral qualities – Constant, Confiant – might serve, and as another alternative, the registrars simply used the ex-slave's existing first name as the basis for the surname, whence the doublets Louis Louison, Flore Florel, Solange Solan, and the like. Place names could obviously be used (Adelaïde Ansegrand, Adelaïde from Grand Anse), and first names could be conjoined with mothers' first names to produce Louis Rosine, Louis son of Rosine, or Mélina Agrippine, Mélina daughter of Agrippine, with the result that many Martinican surnames are historically matronyms; as a further refinement, the first names of both mother and grandmothers could be used, the likely origins of such well-known Martinican surnames as Rose-Rosette, Marie-Jeanne, and Marie-Rose.

But, with 150,000 ex-slaves to enumerate and name, the registrars were soon driven to desperate onomastic measures, notable amongst which is the recourse to anagrams: Compère becomes Erepmoc, Marcel is jumbled to form Celmar or Celma, and Félix is twisted into Lixfé, all of these being familiar surnames in Martinique to this day. There is even – though this may be apocryphal, like the two Martinican girls, born respectively on the Fête de l'Apocalypse and the Fête Nationale, who were allegedly baptized Apocal and Fetnat – a case when, confronted by yet another ex-slave to name, one exhausted and exasperated registrar exclaimed "Ah, j'en ai assez!," his colleague duly wrote in the register, and the ex-slave departed with the name Jean Néacé... Martinicans themselves often laugh at their improbable gamut of names, wrongly, I think, for I see them

as a triumph of *créolité*. Having, so to speak, been issued with a series of arbitrary state-inspired signifiers, Martinicans have, historically, combined them, refined them, and added to them with extraordinary flair, taking over the officials' inventions, reinvesting and creolizing them, to produce such onomastic miracles as – I mention just people I have known, or known of – Irénée Suréna, Juvénal Linval, and, incomparably, Nestor Déluge.

One final observation on Martinican first names: the profusion, more in evidence during the colonial period than in the present, of names based on "France," Françoise, Francine, Francette, Marie-France, and, of course, France itself for women, François, Francis, and Frantz for men. Like most Anglophones, I imagine, I had always thought and spoken of Frantz (as in German Franz) Fanon, though I was mildly curious as to why his parents should have given him such a Teutonic-sounding Christian name in the immediate aftermath of the *Grande Guerre* in which so many Martinicans had fought and died. Then I met a schoolfriend of Fanon, and as soon as he said "Frantz [as in France] disait que ...," I realized, of course, that the name was not Teutonic-sounding at all but that the leading theorist of colonialism and anti-colonialism had the name of the colonizer inscribed in his own, almost as unerasable as the master's brand inscribed upon the slave. The discovery made me think very differently of the author of *Peau noire, masques blancs*.

NICKNAMES IN AFRO-AMERICAN CULTURE

Names, given names and surnames alike, are one thing in the Caribbean, nicknames quite another, and the Martinican novelist Patrick Chamoiseau (1990:28) – himself the bearer of the fine sobriquet Oiseau de Cham, or Bird of Ham, as in Ham the mythically black son of Noah – has written revealingly of what he calls "the creole art of the nickname." The anthropologist Frank Manning has also commented on the "truly striking" prevalence of nicknames amongst Afro-Caribbean males, listing the following amongst the Bermudan men he has known: Froggie, Cracker, Kingfisher, Peter Rabbit, Spider, Bird, Workey, Salt and Pepper, Smokey, Brick Dust, Bouncer, Buggywhip, Tuppence, Stagolee, Fleas, Peacemaker, and Comical. Such is the currency of nicknames in Bermuda that many men appear in the local telephone directory only under their nickname: Nappy, Centipede, Squeaky, Captain Tired, Grasshopper, Pee Wee, Chummy, Icewater, Jimbo, and so on. Manning sees nicknames as an integral part of the play culture of West Indian males on which he and other anthropologists have written so extensively. Given the relative paucity of the number of surnames, in Bermuda as in the ex-British Caribbean, nicknames, he says, perform an important social function as

"symbolic individuators" but, over and above this practical role, they confer a mock heroic identity on their bearers as they engage in the day-to-day dramatic performance and contest that is Afro-Caribbean male culture as it plays itself out between rum-shop, barber's shop, betting shop, and street corner. Men bear "mock aristocratic titles or epithets implying exaggerated masculine prowess" so that nickname usage becomes part and parcel of "the jocular, agonistic exchange of verbal insults" – the Afro-Caribbean counterpart of African-American "rapping" or "the dozens" – in which "good talkers demonstrate their fluency and wit." Significantly, though women sometimes have nicknames, these are not nearly as common, and above all not nearly as self-dramatizing, as those sported by men, in keeping with what is widely seen as the respectability orientation of female Afro-Caribbean culture. It is significant, too, that when men return, as many of them in later life do, to active church membership, they abandon their nicknames and are mortified when unredeemed former rum-shop companions persist in addressing them as such: nicknames are to reputation what the name is to respectability.⁸

For his part, Chamoiseau (1988:98) distinguishes between the Martinican male's official "town-hall name" (*nom de mairie*) and his unofficial "hill name" (*nom des mornes*), implying that the nickname is a kind of onomastic *marronnage*, away from the plantation of bureaucratically regulated existence and into an equivalent of the wooded and mountainous fastnesses where runaway slaves established their communities. But the nickname is less a phenomenon of *grand* than of *petit marronnage*, permitting not so much a total and permanent withdrawal from the plantation as a multiplication of identities, and a limited, ambivalent freedom, on its fringes or even within it. But just as the *petit marron* ended up back on the plantation, either as a result of recapture or of hunger or sheer want of company, so the nickname-bearing *driveur* – the creole word for drifter or hustler, from the French *dériver*, to drift – remains ultimately subject to the law of the *mairie*, where his "real name" is on record for purposes, say, of conscription or of maintenance costs for the various children he has fathered in the course of his *drive*. "Je suis esclave de mon baptême," wrote Rimbaud in *Une saison en enfer* (1873), I am the slave of my birthright: so too the maroon, and his partial modern equivalent the *driveur*, remains at the last, despite all their onomastic manoeuvrings, in bondage to the Name that first Master, then *re-*

8 For all information and quotations, see Manning 1974:123-32. Interestingly, Bermudan males are also known by their car number plates, but this style of appellation belongs firmly to the respectability system.

gistre d'individualité, and then finally *mairie* have successively imposed upon them.⁹

Yet notwithstanding the ultimate hegemony of the Name, nicknames and their close relatives, mock-heroic and mock-aristocratic titles, play – and I mean *play* – a vital role in the oppositional culture of the black West Indian male and, more broadly, in Afro-American cultures as a whole. The use of the allonym-title is everywhere present: in the countless Mighty Xs and Lord Ys of Trinidadian calypso, as well as in the rather less numerous Ranking Zs of the Jamaican musical scene when reggae and ragga performers adopt as a matter of course the names of American gangsters and film-stars or create *noms de guerre* of their own to signal their identity and prowess: Dillinger, Clint Eastwood, U-Roy, I-Roy, Yellowman, Ninja Man, Super Cyat, and, not to be outdone by the men, Lady Junie and Lady G.

Consider, too, the sobriquets of the legendary stickfighters of nineteenth-century Trinidad (Cobra, Tiny Satan, Toto, Cutaway Rimbeau, and Mungo the Dentist – the last so named for his skill at “fixing” the teeth of opponents) or, a hundred years and a thousand miles distant, the so-called “Dons” of the contemporary Jamaican underworld: Winston “Burry Boy” Blake, Everald “Run Joe” Carby, Mark Anthony “Jah T” Coke, Keith “Trinity” Gardner, and, combining the first name of a great East-West Indian batsman and the surname of a legendary England stalwart, Rohan Barrington “Yardie Boy” Barnett.¹⁰

The use of the title-cum-nickname is replicated elsewhere in the Afro-American world by American jazz musicians (Duke Ellington, Count Basie, King Oliver and the decidedly unknighly pianist “Sir” Charles Thompson), by any number of rappers (Dr Dre, Easy E, Dat Nigga Naz, Snoop Doggy Dogg, and Flavor Flav), and by Brazilian footballers, first Afro-Brazilians and then players in general: Pele, Vava, Didi, Garrincha, Mueller, and the magnificent, unforgettable Socrates. Rastafarians, too, conform to the same logic of the allonym-title when they prefix their “Babylon name” with “Ras” or “Africanize” it by inversion, rearrangement of syllables, or dependent creation: Count Ossie, Prince Emmanuel, Prophet Gad, Bag-a-Wire, Headfull, Hy-a-whycuss, I-rice, I-mes, Dizzy-I-yonny, and so on.¹¹ A recent BBC documentary on West Indian domino players in Britain featured a star performer, splendid in mortar board and

9 For a further elaboration of these themes, see Burton 1993.

10 Names taken more or less at random from the index of Small 1995.

11 Count Ossie was a legendary Nyabinghi drummer and leader of the musical ensemble, the Mystical Revelations of Rastafari. Prince Emmanuel and Prophet God are the leaders of the Bobo and Twelve Tribes sects respectively, and the others are members of the Youth Black Faith movement of the 1940s and 1950s. I have taken their names more or less at random from the outstanding study by Homiak (1995).

academic gown, styling himself "Professor Lara," and faculty and ex-faculty at the University of the West Indies will recall with admiration and affection – after all, as a young man he did clean bowl Constantine – the scholar christened Gladstone, known always as Charles and addressed routinely as Professor for so long that his colleagues were stunned when he was actually promoted to the Chair of Government he so richly deserved ...

CONCLUSION

How, then, to interpret these multiple identities and the parallel practice of taking over the names of the powerful, either, as we have seen, those of plantation whites or those other, usually external, whites (missionaries, British prime ministers) who were widely believed, both during and after slavery, to be on the side of the blacks in their struggle against the plantocracy? It would in the first instance be both legitimate and relevant to view both practices as a "retention" or "reinterpretation" of an African paradigm, there being, John S. Mbiti has written in his well-known study *African Religions and Philosophy*, "no stop to the giving of names in many African societies, so that a person can acquire a sizeable collection by the time he becomes an old man" (*sic*). Africans, Mbiti (1969:118-19) continues, without making it clear whether this was a pre-colonial as well as a colonial and post-colonial phenomenon, Africans "change names without any formalities about it, and a person may be 'registered' (for example in school, university and tax office) under one name today and another name 'tomorrow'."

Moreover, as much anthropological evidence attests, changes of name in African cultures do not merely signify but actively create changes in social and ontological status at the critical liminal stages of life, and the eagerness with which slaves evidently clamored for baptism suggests that they too retained a belief in the name as a source of sacred energy or power which coheres with and inheres in the person or thing which it does not so much designate as embody; the Saussurean principle of *l'arbitraire du signe* seems foreign to the African world-view in which, as Mbiti says (1969:119), "the name is the person," and, as we shall see, a kind of magical nominalism seems to govern Afro-Caribbean naming practices as well. The "close identification of name and self" is also evident in the complex onomastics of the Saramaka Maroons of Suriname as analysed by Richard and Sally Price (1972); name, status, and identity are all bound up with each other, whence the extreme caution that needs to be exercised in all matters related to the naming and addressing of others particularly in the use of an individual's *gaán ne* ("big name,"

“strong name,” “true name”) which is integral to that individual’s reputation. The Saramakas’ modulation of different types of names – *pikí ne* (“little names,” “nicknames”), *seketi ne* (“song names” or romantic nicknames), *Bakáa ne* (“Western names”), and so on – is paralleled, as the Prices themselves argue, amongst those Afro-Caribbean communities that remained within the ambit of plantation society, though here the experience of slavery is crucial.

The multiplication of names and identities formed an important part of the repertoire of oppositional tactics and tricks that the Jamaican critic Carolyn Cooper (1993:141), cleverly echoing Jamaican popular speech, has called slave “(h)ideology.” To give one example, recorded in James M. Phillippo’s *Jamaica, its Past and Present State* of 1843: a slave is in debt to another, is christened and says to his creditor, “Me is new man now; before me name Quashie, now me Thomas, derefo Thomas no pay Quashie debt” (Phillippo 1969:203). In this case, it is precisely, and not at all paradoxically, the abandonment of his African day-name that gives “Thomas” his new-found, if strictly relative, freedom: how better to demonstrate that, as so often, the African paradigm provides a base, but no more than a base, for the subsequent Afro-creole construct that cannot but be marked by, and respond to, the determining experience of slavery?

The practice of taking over the names of whites goes back to the very origins of the Afro-Caribbean experience when, in colony after colony, Maroon leaders commonly adopted the names of local white men – that of their ex-owner, or even of the colonial governor of the time – just as they commonly adopted European military uniforms, attaching, as I argue in my book *Afro-Creole*, a particular importance to hats as a symbol of both power and of freedom (see Burton 1997:245-46). “Hat belong to *me* – head belong to *Massa*,” said one canny slave, recorded by Phillippo (1969:202), when asked why he *took off*, rather than put on, his hat when it rained. To put on Massa’s hat is to put on his power; to take over in addition his name is to arrogate the free status, as well as the power, that is believed to be intrinsic to it, and this, rather than any spirit of ironic defiance, explains why, for example the seventeenth-century Martinican Maroon leader Francisque Fabulé took over the name of his ex-master and why, in Guadeloupe in 1726, the leaders of the Maroon uprising that year appropriated the names of the governor general, Général de Feuquières, and the military commander, the Comte de Moyencourt, pitted against them.¹²

So too the slaves and ex-slaves of the British Caribbean when, later, they actively and voluntarily sought to take over the names of their masters and ex-masters. To take the name of the freest and most powerful

12 See Burton 1997:232 (note 9), where full references are given.

white man most of them knew was, for slaves and ex-slaves, the most dramatic way of asserting and displaying their own freedom and power, and it was freedom and power, rather than beholdenness, gratitude or love, that they were signalling when, apparently uncoerced, they took over the names Beckles, Beckford, Brathwaite, or Best.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that large numbers of slaves *did* idealize their Massa, especially when, as was very often the case, he was not resident on the plantation, and compared him favorably to the whites they encountered on a day-to-day basis, believing him to be just, generous and, above all, *fatherly* in his attitude towards them: "My son! my love! my husband! my father!," "You no my massa, you my tata!" is how female slaves greeted M.G. "Monk" Lewis when he visited his plantation in Jamaica in 1816, holding up their children for his inspection and approval: "Look, Massa, look here! him nice lilly neger for Massa!"¹³ Of course, all kinds of reservations have to be made here, for Lewis's self-delusion and racial condescension, and for the women's evident self-interest in winning his sympathy and support in their on-going struggle with overseers and other subordinate whites. I see no reason, however, to doubt the intensity and genuineness of their pleasure in seeing "their" Massa whose appearance amongst them, from the "England" all of them have heard of but none of them seen, is little less than a theophany. For slaves to take over the name of this demi-god – and Lewis must be among the twenty or thirty commonest surnames in Jamaica – was, on the one hand, symbolically to take over his power and to signal that they were as free and as worthy as he, and, on the other, to acknowledge, and to force *him* to acknowledge, the existence of a continuing bond between them, an important prudential consideration, especially when, as is now clear, few slaves *initially* intended to leave "their" plantations when they obtained their "full free."¹⁴

It was, to return to the earlier equestrian image, to cease to be ridden or riderless and to become a rider oneself, and there can be few moments in West Indian history more eloquent than that which occurred in the course of the great slave uprising of 1831-32 in Jamaica when, in the words of one rebel, "I was sitting on the steps of the Great House the day it was burnt ... I took up my Master's hat, and Alick took it out of my hand and went into the Stables and took Master's big mare – saddled it, and rode round the corner" (see Brathwaite 1977:47). Seven years later, if they survived Massa's retributive ire, Alick and friend would almost certainly have taken over his name after taking over his house, his hat, and his horse. In appropriating the *surname* of the Other, they symbolically

13 See Burton 1997:52-54 where, again, full references are supplied.

14 See the important article by Hall 1978.

reappropriated the selves that, by giving them a first name but withholding the dignity of a surname, Massa had stolen from their forebears. And, in the process, since they both now bore the same name, Alick and friend formally consecrated the bond of shipmate that bound them, as well as, more broadly, affirming their kinship, actual or fictive, with the other similarly named folk on the plantation. The name of the Other thus marks both community and selfhood, though, as we shall see, it does not, and cannot, take the newly named ex-slave and his descendants entirely outside of the Other's territory and power.

That Afro-Caribbeans, like their African forebears, do subscribe to a kind of magical nominalism whereby the substance of a person is believed to inhere in his or her name is suggested by the widespread pleasure taken in playing and juggling with syllables of names so that they not merely echo but actively embody the moral and other qualities of the person so designated. Thus Phillippo (1969:202) records the following revealing statement by a slave: "Wilberforce – dat good name for true; him good buckra; him want fo make we free; and if him can't get we free no oder way him *will by force*."¹⁵ To take over, therefore, the name Wilberforce, as many slaves did, was not only a mark of gratitude and a recognition of symbolic paternity¹⁶ but an appropriation of the very will and force embodied in the syllables that made up his name. Similar cases of characterization-by-syllabization might be seen in the way the name of the late Prime Minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley, was transfigured into "Man-lie" when he allegedly betrayed his supporters, and in the equally derogatory transmutation of Jamaica's first Prime Minister, Sir Alexander Bustamante into Bustamente, "men" in Rastafarian dreadtalk being the antithesis, or perversion, of "man" (see Chevannes 1994:103). With its endless troping and punning (as in "overstand" for "understand," and "downpression" for "oppression"), dreadtalk as a whole proceeds in much the same way, and its systematic substitution of the phoneme "I" for the vowels of "Babylonian" English (as in "I-men" for "Amen," "I-ses" for "praises," "I-tal" for "vital," etc.) may, like naming, be seen as a form of empowerment and en-selving by the Word: "I and I," reasons one grammatically-minded Rasta recorded by John Homiak (1995:172), "is a

15 The word that the slave in question uses for "White man," *buckra* (or *backra*), is itself exceptionally eloquent in its etymology, being derived from Efik *mbakara* < *mba* = "all, the whole" + *kara*, "to encompass, master, understand." Etymologically, in other words, the buckra is "he who encompasses, masters and understands all things" (see Allsopp 1996:61).

16 Thus Thomas Harris, in the official report on the 1816 slave uprising in Barbados, stated that "he heard many negroes say they were to be free, and that Mr. Wilberforce was a father to me, and when they obtained their freedom their children would all be called after him" (quoted in Beckles 1987:108).

personal pronoun, in a maxilin [sic] gender, carrying a nominative case, having a subject of its own [as opposed to the “accusative” or “objectified” “me” of standard Jamaican patwa]. So I-n-I use ‘I’ as de first letter of any sound dat I-and-I would be speaking,” to which a fellow reasoner, citing the Maccabee version of Exodus 3.14, illuminatingly replies, “Him said, ‘Tell dem dat I ART DE I AM dat send thee.’ So ‘I’ was de first fullness. It is *foundational*.”

When, therefore, a proud St. Vincentian father called his first born Nixon Alexei McNamara and when, twenty years or so later, another in Jamaica named his son after the entire for once victorious England cricket eleven, they were, did they but know it, acting in accordance with the most venerable West Indian onomastic tradition. So too were Mr and Mrs Louison of Grenada when they called their son Einstein – he grew up to be the none-too-bright Chief of Staff of the People’s Revolutionary Army under the island’s short-lived Marxist regime – though I make no comment on the Haitian parents who chose the name Himmler for one of their offspring. In each case, the name is the person and the person is POWER, and to take over the name is, logically, to take over the power. But, of course, logically is not *really*, and we come here to the paradox which, I believe, underlies the whole of Afro-creole culture in the Caribbean.

That culture is not, in my view, a culture of resistance but an oppositional culture, that is, to use a distinction made by Michel de Certeau (1980), it is a subaltern culture in part derived from a dominant culture that, by definition, it cannot get entirely outside of in order to *resist* it, but which it can only *oppose* from within by all the means of manoeuvre, manipulation, mimicry, and what the Greeks called *metis*,¹⁷ if I may be permitted a wholly unetymological leap, is both the glory and the bane of peoples characterized by a high degree of cultural and racial *métissage*. Thus creole culture is certainly *differentiated* from the dominant colonial culture it opposes, but it cannot, by dint of its very compositeness, be *different* from it, no more than the dominant culture, which is contaminated by the culture it dominates, can be separated entirely from it. Both dominant and dominated cultures are neither completely outside nor completely inside out of each other, they are intertangled and at odds, warring parasites that cannot do without each other, and the dominated culture, or sub-culture, is condemned by its very nature to operate on and within the terrain of the Other, just as Afro-Caribbean onomastics take place around and within the name of the Other.

To turn the name of the Other to the advantage of the self as,

17 See Detienne & Vernant (1991).

historically, West Indians have done time and again is not, ultimately, to get outside the Power of the Other, just as, to use a dyadic pairing that runs throughout Afro-Caribbean writing,¹⁸ Caliban does not in the end liberate himself from Prospero's magic by using Prospero's language to curse him. Or, reverting to the aspect of Afro-Caribbean oppositional culture with which I began, if Caliban beats Prospero over and over again at Prospero's "national game," this is scarcely "liberation cricket," as has been widely claimed and proclaimed,¹⁹ but an even more subtle form of domination and alienation, for the very pride and sense of himself that Caliban gains from his victory imprisons him all the more tightly in the colonial mind-set: even more than the slave and the colonial subject, the post-colonial Caliban in the ex-British West Indies seems to need his ex-Master in order to beat and humiliate him.

Opposition ultimately validates the Power it opposes, "the system" manipulated is "the system" – or, as Rastafarians call it, the "shitstem" – confirmed, and *metis* and manoeuvre, even as they permit the dominated individual and group to survive, also necessarily ensure the system's survival. What's in a name? In the case of West Indians, the whole *servitude* and *grandeur* of their history, its *splendeur* and *misère*, a history of violence and exploitation on the one side and of *marronnage*, mimicry, and *metis* on the other, endless resourcefulness playing with ever more Protean patterns of dominance, combined with an inability, at the last, to step, in the words of Aimé Césaire, greatest of all West Indian poets, *hors des jours étrangers*, out of alien days, into the domain of *la liberté libre* where both Caliban and Prospero, freed of their need for each other, might be "free indeed."

18 Amongst the considerable number of West Indian works using *The Tempest* as a paradigmatic text are George Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960) and *Water Will Berries* (1971), and Aimé Césaire, *Une tempête* (1969).

19 As examples of this view of West Indian cricket, see most of the essays collected in Beckles & Stoddart (1994) and Beckles (1995). For a dissenting view, revising earlier judgments, see Burton 1997:177-86.

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JANETTE FORTE

KARIKURI: THE EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP OF THE KARINYA PEOPLE OF GUYANA TO GOLD MINING¹

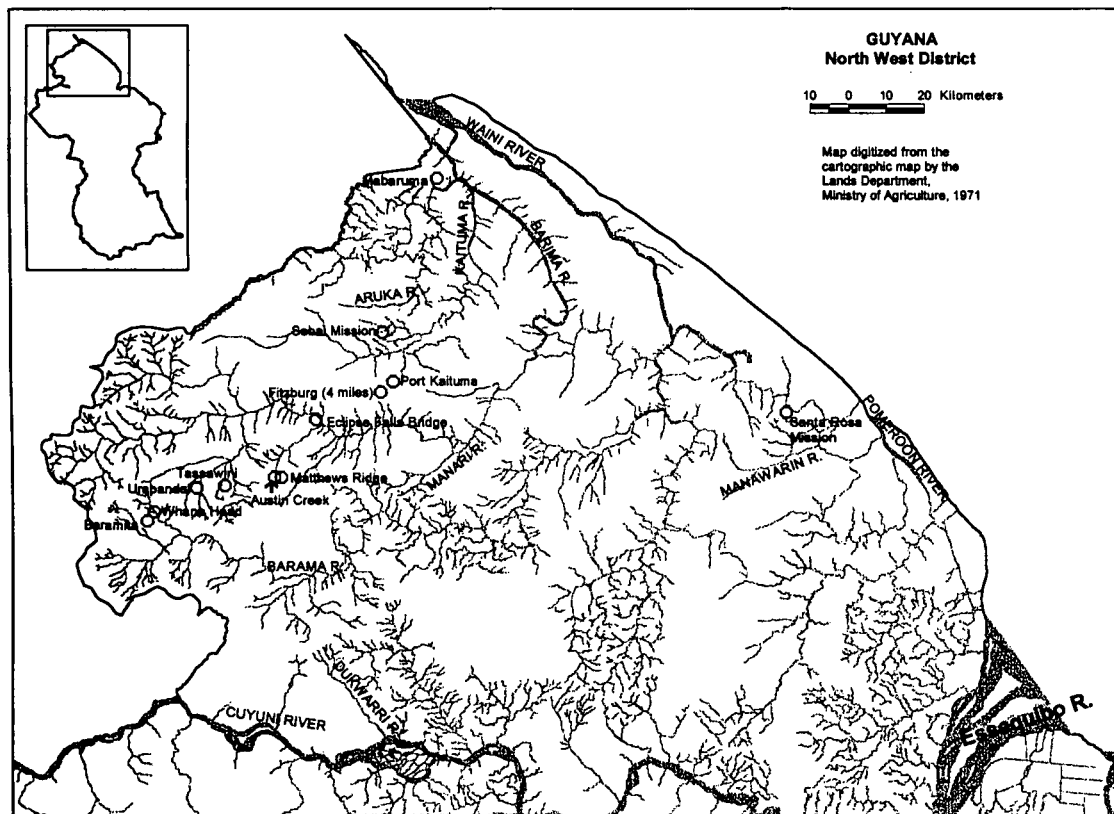
INTRODUCTION

From 1994 to the present, gold exports have garnered the largest quantity of foreign exchange for the Guyanese economy (Thomas 1998:43), belatedly justifying the early historical epithet "El Dorado."

The majority of Guyana's indigenous people today live in the interior gold-bearing regions. While the credit for the first significant "shout" or gold rush in 1879 was claimed by "two Negro gold-diggers working in the gold fields of Cayenne" (Webber 1931:289), historical records document that in the pre-Conquest period, Amerindians mined the metal and worked it into decorative pieces traded over a wide area and worn as bodily ornaments by chiefs or "big" men.

In a recent article on the sector, Guyanese economist Clive Thomas (1998:37) reminded that "Guyana has been a commercial gold producer for just over a century. For most of this period the industry has relied on numerous small operators using traditional and not so efficient production methods." Amerindians and porkknockers (African Guyanese in the main) make up the majority of this sub-sector. Recovery rates of gold in the sub-sector are reportedly low, about 20 percent, in line with the rudimentary technology of pick axe and shovel, followed by manual battelling ("washing down") of the gold-bearing sands. In macro-economic terms,

1. In this paper I use the term "Karinya," which is the word used by the people to refer to themselves, in preference to "Carib," more commonly found in the literature. Not only is "Karinya" more respectful, but "Carib" is a much over-worked term, better limited to describe the Carib-speaking peoples, of whom the Karinya are one of six surviving in Guyana. The others are the Makushi (9,000), Patamona (6,000), Akawaio (5,000), Arekuna (500), and Waiwai (200).



the returns from small-scale miners are insignificant: "In 1996 this sector declared a total output of about 15,000 ounces of gold, that is four per cent of national output and about seven per cent of Omai's" [the second largest gold producer in the Americas] (Thomas 1998:41). This figure, however, is widely considered to be an under-reporting of the gold produced since, in spite of official attempts to regulate the industry, gold continues to be illegally traded outside of the formal economy.

While indigenous communities will invariably voice a number of complaints regarding the deleterious effects of the gold mining activities of others (specifically, non-Amerindian Guyanese) on both society and environment in and around their territories, the indigenous complainers will often be found to be miners themselves.

Gold mining holds several attractions: in the first place, it suits the highly individualistic traditional lifestyle: mining off by themselves, Amerindians can work at their own pace, and without coastal, or creole, "boss men." Gold (or diamond) mining has other advantages. It can easily be combined with subsistence activities: once the cassava crop has been planted, the whole family will happily go off to a "backdam" or mining ground where women and children also dig pits and battel for gold.² There is little need for delayed gratification: the back-breaking work generally garners almost immediate returns, since gold is easily traded for food and other commodities, even in the most remote backdams. Additionally, some Amerindians, like the Karinya of this article, are nomadic, and the peripatetic nature of gold work at the rudimentary level dovetails well with their own innate dislike of staying too long in one place. The following article focuses on the interplay between the Karinya of Guyana's North West District and the intensifying gold mining activities in their homelands.

THE SETTING

During a month of reconnaissance (August 1997) spent traveling on foot between Matthews Ridge and Baramita, and around the scattered Karinya settlements in the Upper Barama/Barima watershed of North West Guyana, there were plenty of opportunities to converse with my Karinya guides and traveling companions and to listen in on their conversations with each other during long days on the trail and at nights in camp. Most of their conversations were conducted in Karinya, but my companions would

2. Backdam: mining workground, generally located alongside a creek or some other source of water to "wash down" gravel. Battel: pan for separating gold grains or dust from sediment; fabricated from the spur of a cedar tree or from metal.

switch to English or translate for me if they guessed that I might be interested, or if I specifically asked the meaning of a word or sentence.

A number of our destinations were Karinya mining camps: places where the “boring” (random prospecting) had yielded up a “payable” amount of “grains.” The lucky few had struck “a string” (a seam of gold), to which the successful prospectors tried to control access, mostly by inviting their relations to join in with them, so as to limit, at least initially, the inevitable rush of outsiders. Later, I would find that my recollections of those conversations were confirmed by the contents of my notebook: most of the talk circled incessantly around gold mining. Gold mining can be said to be the measure of all things in the Karinya world in the North West District – not only the preoccupation of men but also of women and quite young children, indeed of almost everybody I met in the territory, Karinya and non-Karinya alike.

So that even while the Karinya landscape is being drastically transformed by a large multinational timber company operating in the Karinya heartland since 1991, few of the locals know of or pay much heed to that transformation, a matter that lies outside the scope of this paper. Only a handful of local people (and no Karinya, as far as I could ascertain) have jobs with the timber company, and then only in generalized, non-specialist positions like chainsaw operator, driver, or security personnel.

On the other hand, among the sub-region’s inhabitants, gold fever runs high, fueling the local economy, culture, and society and providing what little overarching structure can be discerned in what is essentially a lawless place, outside the pale of state and Church.

PROSPECTING

Shopkeepers and old hands, people in the know in Matthews Ridge, freely admit that the Karinya are unsurpassed in their uncanny ability to discern likely spots in which to start “boring” or digging a pit, locating “a string.” When asked to explain this phenomenon, the Karinya themselves tend to fall back on allegory: in their accounts, success often follows from paying attention to their dreams. For example, dreams of human feces, *wek*, are pointers to success in mining. Other Karinya explain their success as prospectors in more practical terms. In their accounts, gold will generally occur in specific physical locations – governed by the direction in which a stream runs relative to a mountain for example – and often in association with some characteristic small black rocks, termed “gold shit,” the excrement of gold.

Other old timers drinking in the rum shops of Matthews Ridge sagely point out that the Karinya have to be more attentive to telltale signals in the landscape when they are prospecting for gold. This is because generally, unlike non-Amerindian gold seekers, they often have no "backing" from local shopkeepers nor do they own the now popular metal detectors, so that "no grains"³ translates into no food or liquor at the end of a hard day. These elements then permeated the stories I listened to day in, day out, told around Karinya fires to attentive audiences, the children and women listening closely also: stories which in their combination of supernatural divination, attention to the specific precise anecdotes of former successes, allied with local knowledge of the lay of the land and its secrets, together conspire to lock the Karinya into the relentless pursuit of gold, a pursuit which began in earnest in their territory in the final decades of the nineteenth century. This paper seeks to document how the Karinya were drawn into this pursuit of El Dorado, and over time "to suffer its impact and to become its agents" (Wolf 1982:23).

THE KARINYA POPULATION AND HOMELAND

The administrative region demarcated (on paper) in 1980 and named the Matthews Ridge sub-region within the North West District of Guyana can be described as the Karinya heartland. There are fifteen nucleated Karinya settlements all located west of the Essequibo River, and comprising an estimated total population of 5,785.⁴ This figure, however, does not include an estimated thousand Karinya who live in dispersed scattered camps in the Matthews Ridge/Port Kaituma/Barima River hinterland or backdam. When added to the population of Baramita, the largest Karinya settlement, there are then some 2,300 Karinya in the core homeland area.

Indigenous populations throughout Guyana have increased dramatically in this century, the Karinya providing no exception. The population of two hundred in the Upper Barama River area reported by anthropologist John Gillin in 1931 (Gillin 1936) had increased to 551 by 1971 (Adams 1972) (or 750, if one takes the 1969 figure in the *Report by the Amerindian Lands Commission*). In 1997, 484 persons over the age of fourteen years old had been officially registered by the Elections Commission agents in Baramita, and it is from that base that I estimate 1,300 persons for

3. 24 grains = 1 pennyweight (dwt.); 20 pennyweight = 1 troy ounce.

4. Baramita 1,300 people, Kwabanna 588, Waikrebi 102, Kokerite 60, Chinese Landing 54, Kariako 334, Red Hill 239, Koriabo, Barima River 262; St Monica 530, Karawab and Mango Landing 365, Akawini 454, Manawarin 1,000; Kurutuku 270, Batavia 207. Some of these villages are "mixed," which means that other Amerindian population also live there, the result of past missionization.

that reservation, extrapolating from the high percentage of young children and babies. Unfortunately, neither the resident Community Health Worker, the Malaria Eradication Programme personnel nor the District Development Officer kept records of any kind.

With the exception of the Cuyuni River area, whose upper regions were traversed and known to the Spanish and Dutch in the Dutch colonial period (1616-1803), the larger area bounded by the Upper Cuyuni and Barima Rivers and now called the Matthews Ridge sub-region has historically not been well documented. There are a few extant accounts of journeys made overland between the Upper Barama and Cuyuni – notably Schomburgk's in 1841 (Schomburgk 1923) and the Blair/Campbell/Holmes expedition to the Tupuquen gold diggings in 1857 – but in these mention of the Karinya is generally only of those whom the expedition happened to meet with, rather than any account of the numbers of settlements and/or inhabitants of the general area (Campbell 1883; Holmes 1857-58; Blair 1980).

The Spanish considered the Karinya homeland as preeminently within their domain. However, as the historical records document, it was a claim that was generally resisted by the Karinya themselves, who countered by seeking alliances with the Essequibo Dutch instead. In this contested area, given the battles which were waged on all sides – by the Capuchin Fathers for Karinya souls, to be contained in the growing numbers of missions (Whitehead 1988:202; Butt Colson 1994-96), by the Spanish in their attempts to dislodge the Dutch, and later English, interlopers – it was no wonder that Karinya communities would retreat into the more inaccessible parts of their territory, away from the major rivers, even while Karinya warriors would seek out alliances with the Dutch on the one hand, and the capture of Amerindian slaves on the other, who could then be exchanged for coveted European manufactured goods (Thompson 1987).

Another reason for Karinya elusiveness was simply that their numbers had fallen drastically by the mid-nineteenth century, as was realized even at the time. In his account of the overland journey from the Barama to the Cuyuni in 1857, Daniel Blair (1980:26) ruminated:

The path over which we are now traveling appears to have been well peopled in Schomburgk's time. He describes one village as having 72 inhabitants in 1841 – Now we find only these small settlements along its whole course and the ruins of two – What has become of these people? ... The people here say they are all dead, many in the natural course of time must be, but where are their survivors?

The answer, according to anthropologist Neil Whitehead (1988:28), was

decimation through exposure to Old World diseases. His book argues "that it was the concentration of Amerindian populations, under missionary control, that created the conditions favourable to the establishment of persistent and widespread epidemic diseases," so that the populations which had survived the first few hundred years of European penetration of their territory (1494-1750s) would succumb rapidly to European diseases only after they had allowed themselves to be missionized. Many of the survivors – on both the Spanish and Dutch sides – retreated into the heartland, venturing out on either side of the political border from time to time, as still holds true today.

At the same time, while their territorial heartland might have been relatively little known, the Karinya themselves had not been obscure or insignificant to the Dutch, whose dependency on these allies has been chronicled by major historians of the period. Karinya chiefs journeyed to Dutch postholders or forts, not the other way round, not surprising given the unfamiliar terrain and the fact that the Dutch were few in number. In their dealings with the Karinya, as with other indigenous peoples, the Dutch did not interfere in the internal affairs of local allies. The Karinya were key allies, in holding the line against Spanish incursions from the Cuyuni in particular, in providing trade goods, especially Amerindian slaves, and in a later period, in policing the territory against runaway African slaves. The Karinya also guarded jealously their privileged trading contacts with the Essequibo Dutch, waging war against other Amerindian peoples like the Akawaio and Manoa who sought to by-pass their self-assigned intermediary role and deal directly with the Dutch. In any event, as historical analyses have borne out (Thompson 1987; Whitehead 1988), steep demographic decline and a shift to plantation agriculture on the coastal regions had contributed to a "general collapse of Amerindian societies in the 18th century" (Whitehead 1988:54), Karinya decline being the most dramatic among the known Amerindian nations.

Ignorance of the Karinya heartland largely continued during the British period. The missionary thrust by both the Anglicans and Catholics after the 1840s, and particularly in the early decades of the twentieth century, largely centered on the Morawhanna-Mabaruma axis and radiating centers accessible on the major rivers of the North West. By 1912, the Jesuit Father Cooksey (1912:327) would admit how tenuous was the connection with the area by Church and state:

The immense area, larger than that of the ancient colony and County of Demerara, of the North Western District of the County of Essequibo makes it difficult for one man to write with any amount of intimate knowledge of the Aboriginal inhabitants, of five different races spread in isolated settlements all over 8000 square miles of hill and flood and forest ... The Indians of the North Western District are of both classes. The

Akawois and true Caribs of the southern hill country to the Cuyuni watershed, which forms about two-thirds of our area, are out of contact, except of a very passing nature, with missionary or protector or doctor; and civilisation comes to them disguised as the gold-digger and the balata-bleeder and the gold-fields' grocery and its clerks.

KARIKURI AND THE KARINYA

In pre-Colombian times, gold and jewels, especially jade pendants, were the most important items traded out of the highlands of western Guiana to coastal and Caribbean island peoples. One school of thought is that the coastal Amerindians, including the Karinya, were principally intermediaries in this trade (Boomert 1987:38-39; Benjamin 1988:9), rather than gold workers themselves, a view disputed by Whitehead (1990, 1997) who argues for "a native metallurgical tradition in Guiana" (Whitehead 1997:75). Whatever their provenance, luxury items like the ornaments made out of a gold-copper alloy called *karikuri* and green stone pendants were part of a network of "ceremonial exchange" (Boomert 1987:38), which went hand in hand with the exchanges of more utilitarian goods. No doubt following from the sustained European obsession for the raw metal, the term *karikuri* was extended by speakers of both Cariban and Arawak languages to denote the metal in its mineral state also.⁵

From the time of the first landfall on the South American mainland by Columbus in 1494, the quest for indigenous stocks of gold or indigenous knowledge of auriferous areas were the defining features of European interaction with the region's indigenous peoples. The conjuncture of forces that led to a persistent European presence in Guiana, from the time of the expeditions of Antonio de Berrio around the 1580s to locate El Dorado east of the Orinoco, range from the geopolitical to the mercenary. In the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century the reality of the pearls in the Cumaná region and the gold of the Inca had been far more enticing than the possibility of finding "El Dorado" among the "cannibals" of the Orinoco. Into this space, Spain's rivals found some room for maneuver, needing bases from which to launch attacks on Spanish treasure fleets and to establish their own colonies.

5. The *Karaibs-Nederlands woordenboek* glosses *karukuri* [Oost- and West-Surinaams Karaibs and West-Surinaams Karaibs] [T(iri)jo] *kara'kuri*, W(ajana) *karakuri*, Ap(arai) *karakuri*, Ak(awajo) *korokori*, Pm *karukuri*, W(ayampi) *karakuri*, A(rowaks) *karokuri*] /znw/ *goudkleurigheid* [zoals bij *zonsopgang*] (Courtz 1997:48).

Incidentally, Venezuelan historians tend to focus on the 1570-1605 period as being crucial for Spain's (later Venezuela's) loss of Guiana. Angela Lemmo (1986:18) noted that over two hundred English corsair vessels prowled the circum-Caribbean area in this epoch, paralyzing the Araya salt trade and the Margarita pearling industry, as well as preying on Spanish treasure fleets. Piracy in her words "became as endemic as disease."

The search for new supplies of gold, disguised by the northern Europeans as nationalist challenges to Spain's economic and geopolitical hegemony in Europe and the Americas, was arguably the motor force behind this latest phase of European restiveness. At the same time that Spanish sovereignty was being contested by privateers and pirates throughout the sixteenth century, Guiana had become a synonym for gold. Raleigh (1893:14) would describe Guiana as "the magazine of all rich metals" and by the 1580s, the territory had come to be viewed as the last frontier, a no man's land between the Orinoco and Brazil and as a result available to other Europeans (Lemmo 1986:11-12).

The Dutch period (1616-1803) was not marked by any significant gold finds, not for want of trying. Some historians have argued that Amerindian leaders had learned to be duplicitous, having observed the consequences which followed from revealing the location of any such deposits to gold-hungry Europeans. On the other hand, alluvial gold deposits were not easy to locate, as is still true in the present. One account reconstructed by Burr from the reports of the Governor of Suriname to the Society of Suriname between 1707 and 1712 was labelled "Documents relating to a Secret Expedition from Suriname to the Orinoco in search of a certain Treasure." The complex intrigue involved a Carib chief, Tawaimara, various Arawak "Owls" [chiefs], rivalry between the Suriname and Essequibo colonies, etc. In a series of evasive answers as to why the mineral was never forthcoming (after the initial sample had whetted Dutch appetites), the Carib chief continued to plead that he had gotten into trouble "with several other chiefs who dwell not far from him, because he had disclosed [knowledge of the gold] to the whites" (United States Commission 1897:216).

Traveling in the North West District of Guyana, 150 years later, Daniel Blair (1980:17) would note the continuing Karinya reaction to the European obsession with the metal: "we have been informed here that the Carabisce on the Cuyuni having heard of the Venezuelans 'digging money' have abandoned their settlements and retired deeper into the country fearing imprisonment."

Of course, the early discoveries of gold in the North West District provided the British with a major impetus to settle the border with Venezuela

and they buttressed their claim by citing the long-standing alliance and friendship of the region's indigenous peoples, that had begun with their predecessors, the Dutch. The strength of the gold lobby would increase in 1884 when a prospector hit "pay dirt" on the Essequibo; among other locations, gold was discovered in the headwaters of the Barama and Barima Rivers. A slump in world prices for sugar in the 1880s certainly contributed to the ensuing gold boom, which initially was concentrated in the Essequibo River and its tributaries, but soon encompassed all areas of the colony, the Berbice and Corentyne Rivers excepting.⁶ Official records of gold production in Guyana began in that same year, 1884, with the export of 250 ounces. The gold production recorded in the 1884-1914 period would remain unrivalled for another century.

During the peak years – from 1884 to the turn of the century – gold production increased from 6,518 ounces in 1886 to 134,124 ounces in 1892, and indeed during a six-year period (1884-1900), over one and a quarter million ounces of gold were produced. By the turn of the century, gold exports made up 22 per cent of colonial exports,⁷ a meteoric rise comparable to the parallel rise in importance of gold exports to the Guyana economy a century later.⁸ In this record-breaking early period, yields continued to be over the 100,000 ounce level until 1903-4 when 90,336 ounces were declared. By 1913-14, the decline in production had set in, with 82,706 ounces declared. During these three decades (1884-1914) production of the metal was almost entirely due to the placer workings of accessible finds, usually first by a registered joint stock company, and subsequently by the independent-minded porkknockers in and around those finds. In spite of official support and encouragement in that period for what was called quartz mining – involving blasting the gold-bearing reefs, then crushing the rock, adding water and separating the gold from the slurry by using mercury, most of the gold extracted was a result of placer mining.

However, given the rudimentary technology that was in use, it was inevitable that once the early lucky strikes were worked out, gold production would decline. At the same time, once sugar had recovered from the slump of the 1880s, the plantocracy would no longer be disposed to encourage interior resource development which had proved to be much more alluring to the laboring class on whom sugar production depended. While the lure of gold continued to exert its hold on the popular imagi-

6. For example, in 1912 the gold workings at Omai on the Essequibo River recorded a production of 27,123 ounces while at Tassiwini on the Barama River, gross production was 10,178 ounces.

7. The highest annual production was of 139,000 ounces of gold in 1894.

8. In 1993, though, the lion's share of the combined returns from local and foreign miners came from the multinational, Omai Gold Mines Limited (OGML).

nation and while porkknockers and a few companies continued to work claims throughout the twentieth century, it was not until the 1985-90 period that the industry would regain significance to the Guyanese economy.⁹

It is against this backdrop that the impact of mining on the Karinya has to be evaluated. There were two major changes: first, the influx of porkknockers and secondly, increased accessibility to the gold fields, by river initially and later by air and internal roads and even a railway. While there are no records, then or now, of mining workers in particular districts, every year from 1890 to 1895, more than 15,000 men registered as gold workers (Perkins 1896:39). This wave of recruits to the dream of El Dorado traveled in small launches up the Barama River during the rainy season, as far as the Towakaima Falls, whence the Barima-Barama trail passed through the Mazawini and Takutu gold fields to Arakaka on the Barima River.

In the dry season, even today, the Barima River gives access to the principal gold-bearing areas of the North West District since it is navigable for the greater part of the year. Launches used to ascend the river regularly to Arakaka, the center of the gold-bearing district, where a mining warden was stationed. Smaller gold-digging settlements were found on the right bank of the Barima River, the furthest being "Five Stars" landing. This site, now called "Five Star," is about 170 miles from Morawhanna by river and 30 miles from Arakaka by land over the "Five Stars Trail" constructed and maintained by the government. Small settlements mushroomed along the route, bearing such optimistic names as Better Hope, Charity, Land of Promise, and Enterprise. New shops opened, ending centuries of isolation: the outside world had arrived right at the doorstep of the Karinya.

The impact of these momentous changes on the Karinya was not positive. As early as 1915, Charles Wellington Furlong (1915:536) would conclude: "here – in the forest – amidst the superabundance of life, where nature wars against herself, the Carib thrives in spite of everything, except contact with civilization." The Karinya response to this latest wave of intruders was, at first, withdrawal: "As prospectors, local and foreign, moved into the district, the Amerindians withdrew and sought refuge in the most remote parts of the forest that they could find" (Amerindian

9. In 1993, local gold miners declared 87,094 ounces, worth about G\$3.71 billion to the Guyana Gold Board which were sold for G\$4,087 million. Royalty paid to the GGMC amounted to G\$184.7 million while the Inland Revenue Department was paid G\$57.8 million in taxes. The G\$57.8 million covered the 2 percent tax paid by local miners and does not include corporate taxes nor the 10 percent deduction by miners for their workers. Porkknockers are in the minority today, superseded by capital intensive mining operations that employ mining workers.

Lands Commission 1969:200). In time they learned to mine gold themselves, to provide services of various kinds to the burgeoning industry, and to make way for new residents and "landings" (area of service facilities and some infrastructure). Yet, with the passage of time, Furlong's pessimistic assessment of the impact of this latest invasion on the Karinya continued to ring true.

The sections relating to the Karinya as viewed in 1945 and contained in the Report of the Amerindian Welfare Officer, P. Storer Peberdy (1948:19-20), bear quoting yet again:

The Upper Barama River Caribs are the most impoverished and traumatic aboriginal group that I have encountered throughout the length and breadth of British Guiana. They are settled in areas which produced in the early days of mining exploration the largest gold deposits in the Colony above the Fraser Falls of the Barama River and in the Five Star District on the Barima. Miners of practically all nationalities have pioneered these goldfields. Their progeny have been left behind and provide the answer to those who contend that protection laws should be abolished and that haphazard miscegenation is the fitting answer to infuse "new blood" into Aboriginal tribes.

They have been and still are completely unadministered. Medical services and [sic] below the falls, although medical supplies of a limited nature can be obtained from shopkeepers. They have [been] and are labouring as carriers and labourers in mining camps. Their arts and crafts to all intents and purposes have vanished. From information obtained the Carib population in this area was reputed to be over twenty-five hundred strong just over fifty years ago. There are no facts known to the writer to support this contention but from the morbid condition of these contemporary "Carib" groups such a rapid decline in population numbers is understandable. Colonel Moorhead, Commissioner of Lands and Mines, who recently walked the Five Star-Baramita trail commented on the physical condition of the carriers and stated that they could not continue to carry the loads they do and live. The answer is they do not live; they merely exist.

Peberdy recommended a medical survey of the area, and the ensuing work of Government Medical Officers like Eddey, Charles, and Giglioli, in countering the spread of malaria, allowed the Karinya population to rally. Indeed their numbers increased progressively thereafter (Forte 1990).

Gold production in the Upper Barama area between the time of Peberdy and the late 1960s, while lower, continued to be significant to the national total.¹⁰ In other words, gold production had not been transient in the

10. Wellesley A. Baird was the largest miner. In 1949, the total gold production in British Guiana was 21,098 ounces, of that amount 2,611 ounces were produced by Baird, Phang and Dragten. In 1953, Baird and Dragten produced 790 ounces out of a Guiana total of 20,966 ounces (Colonial Office 1950:58-59 and 1955:80). In 1959, gold production dropped to 3,448 ounces and to 1,702 ounces in 1961 (Colonial Office 1960:98 and 1963:117; see also Adams 1982:174-75).

territory. While the early highs had not been maintained, production on a fairly sustained level had continued in Karinya territory. It was not surprising then that the ramifications of gold mining would be far-reaching for the Karinya. Of the Upper Barama Caribs, the 1969 *Report by the Amerindian Lands Commission* (1969:200-201) noted:

The area is seldom visited by members of the administrative or medical officers from Mabaruma ... Apart from some small communities between Baramita and Towakaima, and the one centered on Old World Mine, the people live in single family units in the most remote corners of the forest. They are for the most part unclothed and extremely timid. Rev. Traugh claimed that he has been unable to make contact with them as they withdrew into the bush on his approach and remained there until his departure ... The Commission visited one family at Aronka, four miles from the airstrip, where a man, his five wives, 25 children and 64 immediate relatives were living as one community.

What strikes me most about the Commission's observation is that a mere four miles in distance separates the world of airstrip and Wesleyan outpost on the one hand and an almost pre-Columbian Karinya world on the other. Today, thirty years later, the separation remains as marked.

Following independence in 1966, the era of declining gold production in the Karinya territory also witnessed the closure of a relatively short-lived manganese mining operation (1960-68), centered on the new townships of Matthews Ridge and Port Kaituma. The operation began in 1954, when the African Manganese Company, a subsidiary of Union Carbide, floated a subsidiary, the North West Guiana Mining Company, later to become Manganese Mines Management Limited. This company bought over the rights of the Barima Gold Mining Company's Exclusive Permission and applied for long-term leases. Its closure in 1968 was due to the large fall in the price of manganese, though local people continue to blame the Guyana government, alleging that the company responded to labor agitation and rumors of impending nationalization. It had mined at Matthews Ridge for eight years, after three years of construction. Between 1960 and 1969 about eight hundred tons of manganese concentrate were produced daily.

The decaying infrastructure in the Matthews Ridge area bears testimony to the considerable investment of the company. A 3' 10" gauge railway of about thirty English miles length was built, running north-east from Matthews Ridge, across the Barima Bridge and on to Port Kaituma. Thence the stockpiled ore was carried by sea-going ships of 15' laden draft down the dredged Kaituma Canal and River to the sea. It is fifty-seven nautical miles from Port Kaituma to the Waini Mouth and a further 212

nautical miles to Chaguaramas in Trinidad where Union Carbide kept its stockpile. The railway continued to serve the Matthews Ridge community until recent years when prospectors removed sections of the rails, and finally the Barama Company Limited completed the dismantling process (Forte & Melville 1989:203).

From local accounts, it seems that while the township center of Matthews Ridge was not a Karinya site, the area was well known and used for hunting and fishing. After the manganese operation began, many Karinya migrated to the area, as did other Guyanese – Amerindians and non-Amerindians – some out of curiosity no doubt, and others attracted by the prospect of steady, well-paid jobs. The company built a township in the jungle-houses for its employees, streets and street lighting, piped water from the nearby Pakera Lake, twenty-four-hour electricity, roads leading to the airstrip, etc. With the economic and social deterioration that have marked the post-1968 period in Guyana, locals wax almost nostalgic when they recall the golden era “in company time.”

The company also controlled access to its township, by means of a pass system. Coastal Guyanese could only get on to the boat or aeroplane destined for “the Ridge” if they had acquired a pass – limited to a specified time period, usually three weeks. Married workers were required to produce their marriage certificates before access was granted to their wives. Of course the entire vast area was tacitly acknowledged to be indigenous territory, so that Amerindians who walked in and out were exempted from the security checks. At the same time, only a very few of the Karinya did get jobs with the company, and in general these were limited to manual jobs. Today these Karinya are described as “Englishified” by the majority whose contact with the manganese operation was slight. In fact, most job openings went to coastlander Guyanese, laying the foundation for the preponderantly African Guyanese population of the major nucleated settlements of Matthews Ridge and Port Kaituma.

Mining first, and forestry later, were responsible for the major transformations wrought in the Karinya homeland in the twentieth century. The representatives of Church and state also made their appearance, though intermittently and confined in the main to the nucleated centers of Matthews Ridge, Port Kaituma, and Baramita. Only the latter can be described as a Karinya settlement, and even the limited state presence evident in the other two centers, where outsiders form the majority population, is less here. In the case of Matthews Ridge and Port Kaituma, the existing infrastructure, including schools, hospitals, and churches, caters primarily to a non-Karinya population.

The Karinya, concentrated in Baramita and in a network of shifting forest settlements and mining camps, are hardly aware of rights to any of these facilities. Transactions with the dominant society are through the medium of English, and on terms generally set from outside. There was no primary school in Baramita from 1982 to 1995. However there is a police outpost, a District Development Officer (since 1969), Malaria or Vector Control Unit personnel, and a Community Health Worker (CHW). The few official buildings – school, police and health station – are situated on the perimeter of the airstrip, set apart by at least half a mile from the nearest Karinya households. In 1997 the CHW had no records of population, births, deaths, patients, illnesses treated, etc. – partly on account of lack of record books, partly because no one from Head Office ever had required any reports from him. He received supplies only intermittently from the Health Ministry and lacked any established means of communication with his superiors.

In point of fact, then, the Karinya in this sub-region – both in the nucleated populous center of Baramita and in the scattered mining and other camps – have had minimal contact with state or Church. With respect to the latter, this is changing with the advent in Baramita of the Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses Church, which began with the mass conversion of the dominant clan, the half Afro-Guyanese, half Karinya Baird family in 1990.¹¹ With only a few exceptions, none of the Karinya I met during the course of a month of walking knew his/her date of birth or present age, had ever been immunized or attended a school. No one in authority interviewed in Matthews Ridge or Baramita over the course of a month knew the population of the sub-region, or why there was no mention of Baramita in the 1991 national decennial census.¹² Following from this there seemed to be no morbidity or mortality figures, not surprising given the shortage of CHWs in the health system.

The principal, if not only, function ascribed to the state by the majority of Karinya today is a punitive one. The government is characterized by these Guyanese as coastlander police, and occasionally itinerant mining

11. On the Sunday that I attended the service in Baramita, the congregation numbered 378 persons, excluding children and babies, practically all of the adults within a considerable radius. The population of Baramita is highly dispersed along six major tributaries of the Barama River.

Wellesley A. Baird, the founder of the Baird family, was an African Guyanese who had twelve children with a Karinya woman. All of his sons have married Karinya wives, and at least one of the daughters whom I met has an Arawak husband. Wellesley Baird was the first District Development Officer and the immediate predecessor of his son the incumbent Samuel Baird, whose first language is Karinya and who also speaks fluent English.

12. Interviewed were officials of the Neighbourhood Democratic Council in Matthews Ridge and the District Development Officer in Baramita.

wardens and visiting magistrates. Since 1995 the resumption of DDT spraying by the Ministry of Health has increased the number of semi-official personnel. But in the scattered settlements and mining camps Karinya assert that they have never been visited by health or education personnel or by any other representatives of the state. This situation might have been unremarkable had this territory been left to its own devices. On the contrary, the exploitation of the world's dwindling sources of natural capital would arrive in full force in the Karinya heartland in the 1990s.

Today, multinational timber and mining companies hold various state permits to extract timber, build forest roads, carry out mining reconnaissance flights, and to prospect and mine gold in the ground. No Karinya, nor indeed local officials, are aware of the nature of the permits nor of what lies in store for them in the short, medium, or long term.¹³ The Karinya, for their part, carry on as best they can. Many Karinya have moved back to the Baramita area, which is legally protected by its reservation status.

As for contact with the state, the situation only changed with the intensive voter registration exercise carried out in 1996-97, which created much excitement among the Karinya. Many people I met in August 1997 were anxiously awaiting the first documentation of their existence, Voter ID cards. I did not tell anyone that the cards had to be given up at the time of voting.

KARINYA'S CURRENT INVOLVEMENT IN GOLD MINING

The final section of my paper summarizes the present-day relationship of the Karinya to gold mining in the North West. This account will be limited to active Karinya involvement in small-scale mining, largely excluding the impact on them of operations of the multinational exploration and mining companies.

Beginning in the 1980s, the Guiana Shield has attracted large numbers of mineral prospecting companies, many of which have operations, or shareholding stakes, in a number of countries. The Karinya, like other indigenous peoples to the south – the Akawaio, Arekuna, Patamona, Makushi, and Wapishana – bear witness to the most recent phase of invasion of their territory in Guyana, Venezuela, and Brazil. Their own responses have been multi-faceted: some have found jobs with multinational or other outsider outfits; many, infected by mining fever, prospect on their own; while others, particularly the Brazilian Makushi, are

13. I heard, for example, many stories of the depredations wrought on the landscape by the road building activities which ignore Karinya farms and drinking water sources, but that lies outside the scope of this paper.

actively engaged in protesting the invasion, and the effects of mining on the geographical and social landscape.

The Karinya are deeply involved in mining on both sides of the border, which on the Venezuelan side is centered in the Imataka mountain area. Many of the Karinya I met had relatives on the Venezuelan side. Young men in particular make the journey, though entire families move back and forth. I met a number of these families in Baramita, who had moved back after hearing of the opening of a grand Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses Church. The young adults and children of these families spoke only Karinya and some Spanish, no English. Interestingly, many Karinya in all parts of the sub-region, both young and old, speak only Karinya, a reflection of how tangential their connection is with the larger nation state, Guyanese or Venezuelan.

According to the Karinya, whether documented or not, they encounter few problems with the Venezuelan border authorities, provided they look like "pure" indigenes. However, anyone with a hint of negroid blood, manifested by dark skin or a lack of "straight hair," for example, is apt to be turned back at the first outpost. The Karinya describe the Venezuelan "police" as cruel, dispensing blows at the slightest whim, and antipathetic to black people in particular.

The Karinya measure the distance to Imataka by the number of days it takes them to get there. From Matthews Ridge, for example, you use the Whanna "line" or trail to get to the Venezuelan side in three days: through Powisparu to the Barima River, crossing the Takutu, Urapandai, Big Creek, Kawana, Powisparu, and Turtle Creeks to the Barima River. From there, through Cedar and Sand Creek to La Loca, on the Guyana side. At that point, one climbs the hill which marks the boundary between Venezuela and Guyana, traveling a further six miles to Imataka, Pretamo, and Bochinche at Road End. From there one can hitch a ride to Tumeremo, another site of gold activity. Population-wise, "it is sheer Karinya all the way," which means that you can do your journey in stages, carrying your few possessions and able to depend on Karinya hospitality to fellow Karinya.

In Venezuela, the Guyanese Karinya work for Venezuelan bosses as paid mining workers. From all accounts, Venezuelan Karinya "talk on their behalf," that is, put in a good word for their Guyanese kinsmen who arrive looking for jobs. In addition, the bosses are reputed to like Karinya workmen who are willing and need no training.

A number of Karinya I met also hunt – particularly alligators and turtles – in what they know is Venezuelan territory. At the same time, many told me that there is an undercurrent of resentment of Karinya families who have returned from Venezuela – generally possessing more consumer goods, tape player, track “boots,” etc. Predictably these tensions simmer below the surface and are only made manifest at the traditional drunken sprees, which take place frequently even though the Jehovah Witnesses Church frowns on them. During the period I spent at Baramita, a woman’s arm was badly broken at a spree. She and her family had returned from Venezuela some months before and her son with his flashy clothes and collection of Spanish “dance hall” tapes, had struck up a liaison with a local girl. As his rivals attempted to beat him during the spree, his mother intervened and was badly injured.

Perhaps it is the continued existence of “sheer Karinya all the way,” the very preponderance of this ethnicity in what is increasingly an invaded area, which explains why in fundamental ways the Karinya have withstood the turbulence unleashed on their homeland and themselves by a century of mining activity. This statement will take some explaining since, on the surface, the casual observer today will react with much the same shock and horror as Peberdy did in 1945-46 when confronted with what passes for a settlement in the Karinya area.

What is most striking is the comparison, in which the Karinya come out badly, with the overwhelming majority of other Guyanese Amerindian settlements. In no Karinya settlement in this sub-region, Baramita excepting, did I ever meet a local acknowledged leader. There is simply no local structure of governance. People came together frequently, generally at sundown, at whatever shack passes for a local shop, there to exchange their “grains” for high wine principally, cigarettes, cocaine perhaps, and much later some basic food items. The shopkeepers everywhere and the itinerant sellers of high wine tell the same tale: the evening begins well, men, women (and children in many instances) drinking, smoking, and socializing together. An hour or two later, insults are traded, old grievances recalled, and invariably a fight ensues. The number of fatalities, unrecorded anywhere officially, is clearly high.

There is, at first glance, social degradation and break-down on all sides: pervasive alcoholism, and now increasing evidence of drug abuse, non-stable conjugal unions and widespread neglect of parental responsibilities, neglect of traditional arts and crafts and subsistence agriculture, in a seemingly single-minded pursuit of mining. Yet, as anthropologists increasingly document, there is a resilience to social structure and organization even in the midst of profound upheavals. As the leading anthropologist of Carib societies, Peter Rivière (1984:8), has perceptively noted, while material

cultural elements are "most prone to change, abandonment, and substitution ... this is in marked contrast with the ability of these groups to retain their social structures through the most adverse conditions. This supports the view that what is fundamental and invariant is the social structure." So it is with the Karinya.

To spend time with the gold mining Karinya is to enter a different world. There, when people talk about "gold price drop," they do have an awareness that its value is set far outside of Guyana, even if they may never have heard the words "gold standard" or "stock exchange."

Yet they remain an intact forest people, able to survive off the forest through their intimate knowledge of its flora and fauna. It is precisely this close relationship to the environment which makes them such valued gold prospectors, to outsider outfits and to the shopkeepers who in turn back these outfits. The Karinya, from all accounts, are unsurpassed when it comes to locating a "shout." They do not succeed in keeping its location secret for long since they invariably need to exchange their pickings for drink and food. The shopkeepers and owners of metal detectors and portable pumps then make their way in and "buy a share" in the operation, or set up a parallel, more high-tech operation. Either way, the Karinya move out, characteristically uncomfortable among coastlanders. They will return home until their money runs out, or start prospecting elsewhere. This is the pattern that holds in the Matthews Ridge sub-region.

The shifting nature of gold prospecting and working has fitted in well with the peripatetic habits of the Karinya. While the majority have taken to mining enthusiastically, most continue to plant their bitter cassava. Karinya recount instances of miners who had neglected their farms and were forced to purchase cassava bread. But people generally had learned that mining was still a hit or miss thing, in spite of the fabled Karinya hunches. "Nothing showing," at the end of a day of hard work digging and battelling, means that the Karinya had better have a farm to fall back on.

There are few permanent tree crops in Karinya homesteads, even in the Baramita area. People cultivate bitter cassava almost exclusively, even while they will tell you of the good prices which can be obtained for peanuts, or eddoes, in the backdam.

Settlements are uprooted every few years and people think nothing of moving camp with little notice. It is this restlessness which perhaps accounts for the transient atmosphere of the average Karinya homestead, and the ease with which families move back and forth between old farm and new home, even when the distance involves a hard day or two of trekking.

The Karinya neither adorn themselves with gold nor value the metal intrinsically. Nevertheless, for many, life revolves around the acquisition of gold, and in its pursuit they spend every daylight hour, manually digging pits and then washing gravel in the hope that "the grains will show." Coastlanders in Matthews Ridge and elsewhere tell stories, which the Karinya corroborate, of the pounds and pounds of gold which have been mined over the years by Karinya. Yet there are no material signs of that wealth in any Karinya camp or settlement. Karinya make statements like "We Karinya people built up Millie [a shopkeeper in Matthews Ridge] and Egbert" [her brother who has shops in Five Stars and the Ridge]. Millie, in turn, (as do other shopkeepers) describes the Karinya as "her Buck people,"¹⁴ who can be depended on to exchange their grains for the wherewithal to have a good time: high wine, cigarettes, and loud music blaring from the tape player. Later, when everyone is drunk, they will sleep the drink off, lying on the stone floor of the shop. The following day(s), if any money remains, a few basic items will be purchased – salt, soap, and matches – before heading back to the bush.

These days, the Karinya do not have to trek to the "landing" for supplies. There are a number of persons, both men and women, who regularly ply the backdams, wherever a shout is on, to exchange high wine, cigarettes, cooked food, clothing, etc. for grains. Items "droghed"¹⁵ into the backdam are higher in cost than equivalent goods at the "landing," but as long as the "grains" are "showing," the Karinya exchange them as fast as they come for consumer items, alcohol, and food. In addition, since the Karinya are mostly illiterate and innumerate, many unscrupulous traders take advantage of them: the prices go up as soon as the seller knows that the Karinya has "grains" on his person.

A number of observers assert that the Karinya have more intrinsic respect for currency than they do for gold, keeping paper money close to their persons while the "kiddy" or small plastic container in which they keep their "grains" might be left carelessly lying around. While I was not around the Karinya for long enough to corroborate or discount that story, it might well be because paper money is seldom seen in a context where value is measured in gold grains.

In August 1997, loads "droghed" into the backdam fetched the following prices: 1 cake arepa (cassava bread): 1 grain; sweet cassava: 2 grains/lb;

14. Buck: term originally applied by the Dutch ("bok"?) to any indigenous person; now a derogatory term used by coastlanders both to address Amerindians ("Buckman") and to refer to them.

15. Drogh: to carry loads for others on foot, generally in a *warishi*, an Amerindian backpack suspended mostly from the forehead.

wild meat: 3 grains/lb; cigarettes: 2 grains per pack. With ingenuity the Karinya fabricate gold scales and weights of varying sizes, out of the detritus of consumer society: the empty cans of Polar, a Venezuelan beer, the Polar top pull ring, red plastic seals from the tops of torch batteries, bits of discarded aluminum, old Guyana coins, broken into halves. Shopkeepers and gold purchasers confirm that when a Karinya brings his small packet of grains to exchange at the end of a day, he or she knows beforehand the exact measure of grains because their home-made scales are as accurate as the Guyana Gold Board's.

CONCLUSION

I have suggested above that there is an invariant Karinya core which has been unaffected by the wholesale embrace of mining culture and the increasing contact with outsiders.¹⁶ On the Guyana side, the Karinya continue to mine in the interstices of their territory, side by side with multinationals, Brazilian entrepreneurs, individual porkknockers, and local operations of varied size. Their relationships with outsiders go back to the early Contact period and, from the beginning, persistently circled around the existence of gold. As the Karinya lost their early autonomy, their relationships with the outside world grew increasingly unequal, intensifying in the twentieth century with the growth in resource extractive operations in their homeland. In these encounters the Karinya have fared badly, lacking the social organization and leadership that might have allowed them to create some space for themselves.

The end result is that the Karinya are accorded the lowest social status among the indigenous groups of the territory (the others being Arawak and Warau), and that collectively the indigenous peoples remain marginalized in a homeland in which they still form the numerical majority. At the same time, the Karinya, individually and not as an organized group, are increasingly seeking incorporation into this larger world, principally through offering their labor power directly, or the gold they mine themselves, to meet their needs for consumer goods. The pace of change has intensified and, in this most recent period, been marked by the

16. Martina Grimmig, a German researcher, has observed similarities with the situation of the Karinya on the Venezuelan side, commenting that my accounts "affirmed many of my own observations and experiences with the Karina. You also raised one of the central questions that was passing through my mind while being with the Karina, that is this peculiar conjuncture of complete social breakdown at one side and the resiliency of pervasive ethnicity at the other. Of course, what also struck me, equally as you, is the fact that there exist such radically different worlds within a mere couple of kilometers." (Personal communication, 1998.)

transformation of the landscape by forestry activities. Yet the Karinya survived the gold rush at the end of the last century. They may well outlast the present crop of carpetbaggers.

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PAULE MARSHALL AND THE SEARCH FOR THE AFRICAN
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The Fiction of Paule Marshall: Reconstructions of History, Culture, and Gender. DOROTHY HAMER DENNISTON. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. xxii + 187 pp. (Paper US\$ 15.00)

Toward Wholeness in Paule Marshall's Fiction. JOYCE PETTIS. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995. xi + 173 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.50)

Black and Female: Essays on Writings by Black Women in the Diaspora. BRITA LINDBERG-SEYERSTED. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1994. 164 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Literary history has not been very kind to Paule Marshall. Even in the early 1980s when literature produced by African-American women was gaining prominence among general readers and drawing the attention of critics, Marshall was still considered to be an enigmatic literary figure, somehow important in the canon but not one of its trend setters. As Mary Helen Washington observed in an influential afterword to *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, although Marshall had been publishing novels and short stories since the early 1950s, and was indeed the key link between African-American writers of the 1940s and those of the 1960s, she was just being "discovered" in the 1980s. While there has always been a small group of scholars, most notably Kamau Brathwaite, who have called attention to the indispensable role Marshall has played in the shaping of the literary canon of the African Diaspora, and of her profound understanding of the issues that have affected the complex formation and survival of African-derived cultures in the New World, many critics have found it difficult to locate her within the American, African-American, and Caribbean traditions that are the sources of her imagination and the

subject of her major works. Marshall has embraced all these cultures in more profound ways than her more famous contemporaries have, but she has not gotten the accolades that have gone to lesser writers like Alice Walker. It is indeed one of the greatest injustices of our time that Walker's limited understanding of the cultures and peoples of the African Diaspora has become the point of reference for North American scholars of Africa, the Caribbean, and South America while Marshall's scholastic engagement with questions of Diaspora has not drawn the same kind of interest.

If there is any compensation in this uneven history of the literary canon, cultural capital, and receptionality, it is that for readers familiar with Marshall's novels, Africa and the Caribbean are not appendages to an American drama of slavery and the terror of modernity nor romantic emblems for exploring the recent fads in the metropolitan desire to represent black people as perpetual victims of their history. For discerning readers, especially those located at the various points of the Black Atlantic, Marshall's works represent the best examples of how African-American time, place, and memory perform a constitutive role in the shaping of the African experience in the New World. She engages with African-American history at its point of slippage, ambivalence, and self-affirmation. Among African readers, her works are often praised for their subtle understanding of African cultural survivals in the New World (such as rituals of return and Carnival) without the sentimentality associated with various strands of Afrocentrism. Caribbean readers turn to Marshall's work for their acute sense of the way the drama of modernity has been played out on the plantation societies of the West Indies. For African-American readers, Marshall's novels provide an indispensable bridge to the cultures of Africa and the Caribbean.

Given the breadth and depth of Marshall's imagination, why hasn't she won the critical acclaim and celebrity that has brought other writers of her generation national and international prizes and slots on late night American television? This question is the starting point of the three books under review; each of the three authors is not simply interested in placing Marshall's work in that historical continuum in which Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, and black America meet, but also in explaining why literary historians have not given one of the greatest writers of the African Diaspora her due. The answers the three critics provide, as they try to unravel this literary phenomena, is symptomatic of their theoretical premises, their critical preferences, and their unique version of Marshall and her works.

In *The Fictions of Paule Marshall*, Dorothy Hammer Denniston is concerned with what one may call the anatomy of Marshall's aesthetic, a philosophy of art grounded in certain essential notions about ancestry and historical location. Denniston presents her readers with a Marshall whose major works try to negotiate the double consciousness of African-Ameri-

can life and try to bridge the gap between African-derived art forms shaped in the face of the historical experience of enslavement, the Middle Passage, and plantation society. Marshall's aesthetic is presented here as dualistic in both its ideological and formal claims: it seeks to recover Africa for the black Diaspora, but it tries to do so without negating the split psyche engendered by the history that is also the condition of possibility of these works. This dualism underwrites Denniston's readings of Marshall's novels in ways that are as productive as they are problematic.

The productive part of Denniston's project is not hard to recognize. She reads the fractured history of the New World in Marshall's novels in six detailed chapters, tracing the novelist's search for a language of double consciousness from her early experimental fiction to her great Diaspora novels such as *The Chosen Place, the Timeless People*. Although some of the chapters cover familiar ground, Denniston has a great sense of the intertextual relationship between Marshall's novels and of their anxious relationship to both historical time and their time of production.

The seriously problematic part of Denniston's project relates to her theoretical attempt to read an African ontology in Marshall's texts or to ground her major novels in a unified African culture. Denniston starts with the important claim that Marshall's works are intended to reclaim African cultures for the African Diaspora. But what exactly are the forms and the terms in which Africa enters the Diaspora narrative? Denniston presents her readers with a myth of Africa that no serious scholar should take seriously: she outlines a series of questionable notions about the African ontology and reproduces claims on African thought and life that have now come to be dismissed under the rubric of Africanism. Denniston is right to recognize the significance of Africa in Marshall's works; what she fails to recognize is that unlike some African-American writers who have reproduced a racist notion of Africa in order to pursue their domestic agendas, Marshall's works are unique because of their continuous attempt to understand the way Africa has been imagined in the New World text.

Marshall's works present us with an Africa that is utopian (because it has enabled an affirmative African-American culture), but also dystopic (because it is remembered as a space of loss and displacement, as another time and another place). The issue here is not so much that Denniston reproduces the very unanimist Africa that generations of African scholars have tried to exorcise out of the critical and philosophical tradition, but that her version of African culture comes from sources, such as Levy-Bruhl, that have been discredited for almost fifty years. She fails to recognize how some of Marshall's early novels, most notably *The Chosen Place, the Timeless People*, were conceived and written as a critique of European images and theories of Africans on the continent and abroad.

The truth is that whether one is dealing with Africa or the history of New World slavery, Marshall's best works defy easy schematization. As Joyce Pettis argues in *Toward Wholeness in Paule Marshall's Fiction*, there is a sense in which Marshall's uncertain status in the canon of American literature can be explained by her production of works which seem to be at odds with both fashion and literary history. Pettis notes that the publication dates of Marshall's works distance her from the "watershed periods" in African-American literary history: her early works are produced well after the naturalistic fiction of the 1940s associated with Richard Wright and his circle; her first significant works are published just before the beginning of the 1960s and the great literature of black nationalism; her great novel, *The Chosen Place*, comes at the end of the Civil Rights Movement and before the renaissance of black women writers. Marshall's works thus seem to be out of synch with the institutions of knowledge that determine the reception of literary works.

But this sense of historical belatedness does not, in itself, explain Marshall's displacement within the literary canon; rather, it needs to be seen as part of the failure of literary critics and scholars to come to terms with African-American literature in the 1950s, a literature which did not have the erotic flavor of the Harlem Renaissance or the militant polemic of the 1960s. After all, the fiction Marshall produced in the late 1950s and early 1960s has very much in common with other writers from this period (most notably James Baldwin) whose reputations also seem to be shaky. I think what Marshall has in common with Baldwin is a certain theoretical eclecticism, and sense of intellectual independence that refuses to kowtow to the fashionable trends of the time, especially in regard to questions of race, gender, and sexuality. Both writers refused to have their lives and works redlined according to the dominant ideologies of African-American literature, and for this reason the arbiters of literary value, both black and white, did not know what to do with them.

Pettis's book is a good example of the problem critics and other commentators run into when they try to read Marshall according to established conventions. The problem I have in mind here is reflected in the title of her book: she wants to read Marshall's narratives as stories structured by the desire for wholeness and propelled by the subjects' journey toward psychic and cultural restoration. But while it is true that Marshall's novels are built around subjects whose awareness of alienation, fragmentation, and negation propels them toward cultural voyages in search of historical foundations and cultural centers, it is equally true that these novels are memorable for their moments of rupture, disengagement, and disintegration. The apparent utopian moments of closure in such novels only reinforce the gap between the subjects' longing for reconciliation with a cultural *matria* and their historical or social belat-

edness. Selina Boyce at the end of *Brown Girl* may be leaving the United States in search of the real Bajan culture in the islands, but this gesture is framed by her rejection of the Barbadian dream as it is played out in America. Merle Kinbona may have found her true self among the remnants of Africa in the Caribbean islands, but her self-discovery is overshadowed by the overwhelming reality of an incomplete modernity.

Pettis recognizes this constant play of utopia and dystopia in Marshall's novel, but her privileging of wholeness sidetracks her from the implicit theoretical problem her book raises: how can one read an aesthetic of identity and reconciliation in novels that are built around the inescapable centrality of historical rupture and alienation? While Pettis's basic claim is that Marshall's aesthetic ideology is driven by a need to overcome the alienation and fragmentation wrought on the black self by the culture of modernity, her work is underwritten by a critical method that seems to valorize wholeness and restoration against the overwhelming weight of displacement and separation evident in her object of analysis. Pettis is surely right in her assertion that Marshall's main novels are about characters who embark on journeys intended to reconcile them to lost genealogies (the most obvious example is Avey Johnson in *Praisesong for the Widow*), but she often fails to underline the incompleteness of such journeys.

It is not, of course, surprising that one can read diachrony and disjuncture in Marshall's works against the synchronic and restorative reading that both Denniston and Pettis seem to prefer. These differences of interpretation are not, however, simply the result of theoretical preferences; to a large extent, Marshall's novels are remarkable for the way they invite readers to identify with a certain critical grammar that is sometimes at odds with the cultural geography represented in the fiction. What one critic reads as primary in this fiction – the West Indian's relation to the metropolitan West or its attempts to husband its ancestral memories – can sometimes determine the kind of thick description one brings to Marshall's work. In Brita Lindberg-Seyersted's *Black and Female*, what we have is a very naive eroticization of the New World that is only matched by the author's old-fashioned critical methods. Lindberg-Seyersted's intentions are noble and there are some suggestive moments in her book, but as a whole, this work seems to be nothing more than a collection of lectures given to undergraduates with a very limited knowledge of either the African-American or Caribbean experience.

On the surface, this book promises its readers a philological approach that has been lacking in the study of African-American and Caribbean literature: the color black as a motif in African-American women's writing since the eighteenth century; the mulatto figure in African-American literature; and the representation of Europe in the works of black women. All these are important topics, but they are treated on a rather rudimentary

level and hence rarely fulfill the intellectual promise suggested by the chapter titles. The specific chapter on Marshall is quite disappointing; it rehearses familiar themes such as the African influence, the role of slavery and colonialism, and modernity without advancing them very far. If Denniston and Pettis have produced works in which readers and critics are compelled to at least rethink and debate these familiar themes, Lindberg-Seyersted adopts a critical posture in which tautology reigns. All three books do, however, make Marshall a central figure in the continuing debate on the nature of African-American literature in relation to the African Diaspora and for this reason they are recommended as important additions to this tradition.

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READING THE ARCHIPELAGO

A History of Literature in the Caribbean, Volume 3: Cross-Cultural Studies. JAMES A. ARNOLD (ed.). Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1997. xvii + 399 pp. (Cloth US\$ 120.00)

The Other America: Caribbean Literature in a New World Context. J. MICHAEL DASH. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998. xii + 197 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.50, Paper US\$ 18.50)

In his most recent theoretical work, *Traité du Tout-Monde*, Édouard Glissant stresses the virtues of what he calls "archipelagic thinking." "The entire world is becoming an archipelago," he asserts (1997:194), and for this reason we need to distance ourselves from both insular and continental ways of thinking if we are to register the complexities of that global creolization process. The archipelago is situated between the solitary confines of the islands that constitute it and the expansive territory of the mainland toward which it points, relating the one to the other while retaining its own indeterminately distinct identity. For Glissant, actual archipelagos such as the Caribbean are exemplary sites for understanding the complex new relations that ambivalently and chaotically join together all the hitherto unconnected parts of the world. As a consequence of this, the need for understanding the Caribbean *as* an archipelago becomes ever more pressing: the Caribbean must be considered in its archipelagic totality, as a *region* that can only be adequately understood through comparative, cross-cultural analysis focusing less on its discrete parts than on the way these parts exist in relation with and to one another.

Glissant's emphasis on the (liminal) centrality of the archipelago, and his related insistence on understanding the Caribbean in regional terms, comes at a time when insular models for understanding the Caribbean (nationalism, Afrocentrism) have lost much of their formerly sacrosanct authority,

while other globalizing narratives (postcolonialism, postmodernism) have gained an ascendancy that puts into question the integrity of any and all arguments that were founded on exclusionary, identitarian appeals to such "essential" categories as nation and race. Glissant's work attempts both to mediate between these two models and to direct us beyond them, and it is fair to say that the cutting edge of Caribbean literary and cultural studies is increasingly to be found in work that has followed him into this medial zone of understanding. Both of the books under review here make the case for reading the Caribbean first and foremost in regional terms; they urge a commitment to cross-cultural studies in which the various locations of the archipelago are treated as part of a larger totality that has managed to retain a specific if elusive identity of its own while becoming ever more implicated in a globally creolizing world. At the very least, *Cross-Cultural Studies*, the third volume of *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*, succeeds in affirming the importance of this comparatist perspective, while J. Michael Dash's *The Other America* will provide both novices and experts in the field of Caribbean studies with a crucial introduction to this perspective for many years to come.

Putting together the final volume of the *History* undoubtedly posed vastly greater problems for its editor than did the first two volumes (Volume One was devoted to the Hispanic and Francophone regions while Volume Two – still forthcoming – will focus on the English and Dutch regions), and one sympathizes with the difficulty of A. James Arnold's task. If providing a comprehensive set of essays about, say, Anglophone literature from the Caribbean is a daunting but nonetheless manageable task, can one ever hope to produce an equally comprehensive, authoritative "history" of the interactions of all the region's diverse literatures? The short answer to that question is, of course, that one cannot, so it is hardly surprising that this collection ultimately fails to tell a coherent (hi)story about Caribbean literature as a whole; however, I would venture that one could, in Samuel Beckett's words, "fail better" than does this collection, the excessive diffuseness of which ultimately defeats its praise-worthy intentions.

What unity this collection of essays does have derives mostly from the second of its nine sections, "Literary Creoleness and Chaos Theory," which features two useful essays that establish what is at stake in approaching the Caribbean from a cross-cultural perspective by comparing theoretical accounts of the Caribbean by Antonio Benítez-Rojo and Glissant. (Román de la Campa's consideration of these theorists is especially thought-provoking.) This section is preceded by one entitled "Preliminary Approaches," which includes a derivative essay on Columbus, cannibalism, and early mappings of the Caribbean, as well as a very informative overview of Creoles by George Lang, who stresses that

Papiamentu is "the most successful Creole literature in the Caribbean" (p. 45). (The collection's unprecedented emphasis on the Dutch Caribbean as a full-fledged player in the literary history of the region is, incidentally, one of its major strengths.)

These two introductory sections are followed by seven more, each containing two or three essays: given limitations of space, the titles of these sections must serve to convey the "organizing" principles of the *History*: "Problematics of Literary Historiography"; "Literature and Popular Culture"; "Carnival and Carnivalization"; "Gender and Identity"; "The Caliban Complex"; "Genre and Postcoloniality"; and, last and decidedly least, "Cross-Cultural Currents and Conundrums," the grab bag of insignificant and meandering essays with which the collection comes to an emphatically unclimactic close.

The Carnival section is quite possibly the strongest unit in the collection, featuring sharp and engaging analyses of that "paradoxical practice" by Benítez-Rojo and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert; the Genre section, with useful essays on autobiography and the Caribbean sublime, is also quite satisfying. By contrast, the sections on Popular Culture and on Gender are surprisingly weak. As far as individual essays go, Vera Kutzinski's "The Cult of Caliban: Collaboration and Revisionism in Contemporary Caribbean Narrative" deserves singling out as a professional and helpfully polemical piece, which reads Wilson Harris's *Carnival* as "a hermaphroditic text" and contrasts it favorably with the "dialogic gesturing that amounts to little more than fetishism" that one finds in a number of Cuban texts such as Fernández Retamar's *Calibán* (p. 300); as far as this reviewer is concerned, the collection's single most noxious contribution would have to be Iris M. Zavala's "When the Popular Sings the Self: Heterology, Popular Songs, and Caribbean Writing," an intolerably self-indulgent and jargon-laden reading of "popular songs used in literature as cultural signs and vernacular tropes" (p. 197).

In short, what would certainly have been greeted as a satisfactory if uneven group of essays were it to have been published as a special issue of a journal such as *Callaloo* comes as a distinct disappointment when presented as part of an ambitious, multi-volume *History of Caribbean Literature* (to which is attached, moreover, a discouragingly astronomical price tag).

Working the same comparatist ground as the *History* to much better effect, Dash's book also attempts to provide a preliminary mapping of the whole of Caribbean literature; adopting a "New World approach" (p. 3), he attempts to go beyond the "obsessive nativism or nationalist selfaffirmation" that bedevils so much of Caribbean criticism (p. 9), and against which he has so eloquently argued in his previous books and articles. Attempting "to deal with the region from a Pan-Caribbean perspective,"

Dash breaks down the barriers separating the various national and language traditions in the region while resisting the urge to situate Caribbean literature and culture in the context of postcolonialism or postmodernism, which he polemically but usefully associates with "the current intellectual *Zeitgeist* of the romance of otherness" (p. x).

Caribbean literature, for Dash, is inseparable from the experience of modernity, and it is "the Caribbean's experience of the modern as a vital part of its New World context" with which he is especially concerned in this book (p. 17). Following upon the Introduction, the book's second chapter (which is its weakest) examines "the creation of the notion of the Tropics within Europe's experience of the crisis of modernization" (p. 17); in a broad overview of "tropicalist discourse," Dash outlines the various exoticizing stereotypes that have fed into colonial representations of the Caribbean, beginning with Columbus and moving through *The Tempest*, *Robinson Crusoe*, Rousseau's noble savage, Sartre's romanticization of black culture, all the way to the post-culturalist anthropology of James Clifford, who "may well be no less guilty than Breton, Lévi-Strauss, or Sartre of succumbing to a romantic fantasy of liberation derived from an exotic notion of other cultures" (p. 41). While one appreciates Dash's reasons for including this overview of the Western discourse against which Caribbean literature works but with which it also inevitably colludes, as well as his consistent willingness to make politically difficult arguments that might make some "radical" readers uncomfortable (e.g., "the championing of Caribbean radicalism by European intellectuals may itself be a compensatory fantasy" [p. 27]), the overview of "tropicalist discourse" in this chapter feels rather perfunctory and is, curiously, somewhat too preoccupied with summarizing the work of other critics as opposed to developing an original thesis.

The remaining chapters of the book, which examine the various phases of modern Caribbean literature from the Haitian Revolution onward, are extremely strong and will be of immense use both to tyros looking for a readable introduction to Caribbean literature and to specialists in search of an insightful take on it. For those unfamiliar with Dash's writings on Haiti, Chapter 3 on nineteenth-century Haitian writing will be a revelation, breaking as it does with the conventional wisdom that nineteenth-century Haiti was the site of a "collective bovaryism," and asserting by contrast that the ostensibly assimilationist position of these writers with regard to European civilization was "a vital aspect of their attraction to modernity" (p. 44). The post-revolutionary project of founding Haiti as a modern state is inseparable from a literary modernism that Dash already finds at work in that country in the early decades of the nineteenth century (whereas, he argues, such modernism only emerges in the Hispanic Caribbean in the 1880s and in the Anglophone Caribbean in the 1930s [p. 47]). A fine read-

ing of Oswald Durand's "Choucouné" is followed by a daringly revisionist account of the supposedly "apolitical formalism" of the Haitian fin de siècle poets associated with *La Ronde*: the "cosmopolitanism" that he identifies in these poets "has its imaginative roots in the spirit of errancy and nomadism generated by a sense of groundlessness," and Dash sings the praises of this nomadic spirit, which recognizes the impossibility, and signals the collapse, of a "foundational poetics in Haitian literature" (p. 57).

Dash's idiosyncratic championing of these "cosmopolitan, nomadic, and plural" writers is bound to be irritating to self-styled "politicized" critics; even more irritating to them, one suspects, will be his persistent critique in Chapter 4 of Aimé Césaire – or, rather, of the primacy accorded to Césaire by historians of Caribbean literature, for whom the Martiniquan poet's work stands as the founding moment of Caribbean modernism. In Césaire, the cosmopolitan impulse of fin de siècle Haitian modernism gives way to the ostensibly revolutionary but in fact reactionary idea of the Caribbean as a "heterocosm." In the 1930s, Dash argues, "Caribbean modernism invented a radical poetics based on an integration with a lost organic totality" (p. 62); this poetics is most spectacularly embodied by Césaire's Adamic "poetics of origination" (p. 63), "a poetics based not on diversity but invariance" (p. 67), which in political terms cashes out as Fanon's cult of violence, a cult for which Dash clearly has little sympathy (indeed, he chastizes Edward Said for attempting to promote a "sanitized version of Fanon" in *Culture and Imperialism* [p. 68]). One finds this myth of the Caribbean heterocosm in a variety of writers: it underlies the Africanist poetics of Kamau Brathwaite (who is interestingly paralleled to T. S. Eliot), as well as the indigenist (indeed, fascist) politics of Haiti's Carl Brouard or its mirror image, the Marxist vision of Jacques Roumain's *Masters of the Dew*, a novel that "aims for a new, truth-bearing discourse on which a new beginning can be based" and that Dash reads as a version of the Latin American "dictator" novel (p. 78). Dash's polemical examination of the "poetics of closure and authority" in writers whom we have been schooled to adulate, such as Césaire and Roumain, is extremely salutary and this chapter alone makes the book required reading for Caribbeanists.

The second half of *The Other America* consists of three chapters that examine the aftermath of the myth of the Caribbean heterocosm, charting the re-entry of Caribbean literature into a compromised and compromising modernity and its "bewildering plurality of signs" – a plurality that the "logocentric poetics" of Césaire and Roumain and its "appealing symmetries" repeatedly attempted to erase from view (p. 87). In Chapter 4, we follow Alejo Carpentier as he abandons his early fascination with "marvelous reality," which still reeks of primitivism and heterocosmic fantasies,

and instead works toward a "poetics of infinite translation" in his later novels, notably through his creolizing interest in a polyglossic New World Mediterranean that is also central to the poetry of Derek Walcott, whose "creative crepuscularity" Dash lauds (p. 104). In Chapter 5, we are introduced to the "fields of play" made possible by parodic and postmodern Caribbean texts: for instance, the "female grotesque" of Marie Chauvet's *Amour, Colère, Folie* (itself a subset of an "aesthetic of the grotesque" that Dash finds in writers as diverse as Maryse Condé, Raphaël Confiant, and Dany Laferrière), the "street plays" of erotic writers like René Depestre, or the carnivalized texts of contemporary Trinidadian writers. Finally, in Chapter 6, we land up in contemporary Martinique, where the "secularizing, desanctifying process that is an essential aspect of modernization" has been perhaps most forcefully experienced in the Caribbean (p. 137): "as fragile, liminal space," Dash argues, "Martinique is the point where the Caribbean, perhaps most intensely, confronts, in its most disruptive manifestation, the overwhelming form of modernity" (p. 158). In this final chapter's analyses of "liminal urban culture" in Patrick Chamoiseau's novels and the "poetics of liminality" in Glissant's theoretical books, Dash insists on the possibilities opened up by this modernization process, and thus opposes the gloomy assessments of contemporary Martinique that are such a predictable feature of so many accounts (including Glissant's) of this far-flung French *département*.

The chapter on Martinique leads into a brief conclusion in which Dash stresses that island space can be "privileged in a foundational discourse" but that it can also be "favored in terms of a transversal creole space" (p. 162). Recognizing and exploring the "field of relations" that constitutes this creole space is what Dash urges us to do: we should not long after the "imperishable rock" on which an "heroic, modernist practice" attempted to found itself; rather, we should embrace the island as "threshold," as "liminal space, the confluence of innumerable conjunctions and disjunctions" (p. 163), a place in which all "fixed and absolute meaning" is mercifully displaced (p. 164). Dash's mapping of this threshold zone, and his championing of "a cross-cultural ideal that privileges neither ossified sovereignty nor the uniformity of universalizing sameness" (p. 163), is an extremely important contribution to Caribbean literary studies.

The Other America certainly has its faults: the rather too cursory overview of "tropicalist discourse" in Chapter 2 is matched (inevitably, given the ambitiously overarching nature of this short book) by the occasional underdeveloped analysis of individual texts in subsequent chapters; and the book is sloppily proofread, to say the least (typos abound: St. Domingue is referred to as St. Dominique [p. 43]; Césairean is often rendered as Césarean; the accents on French words are frequently left out ... and so on, and on). These minor irritants aside, however, one is ultimately

left with a great sense of admiration for Dash's book and its provocative comparatist overview of Caribbean literature.

As Glissant puts it in the *Traité*, in his typically evocative if elusive language, "all archipelagic thinking is a trembling thought, a non-presumptuous thought, but also a thinking that opens out, that shares itself out" (1997:231; "*toute pensée archipélique est pensée du tremblement, de la non-présomption, mais aussi de l'ouverture et du partage*"). It is this opening and sharing out that both books under review, with differing degrees of success, direct us toward, forecasting the never complete confluence of the islands of the Caribbean into an archipelagic whole that presumes nothing but that can nonetheless, for precisely this reason, be counterpoised as a fragile, trembling alternative to the "imperishable rock" of the solitary island or the comforting certainties of the totalizing "continents, these masses of intolerance inflexibly directed towards a Truth" (1997:181) – a Truth that, we must be thankful, it has become increasingly hard to read into the creative polyphony of the Caribbean and its richly ambivalent literature.

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PERSPECTIVES ON CREOLE LANGUAGE HISTORY

Les Créoles: Problèmes de genèse et de description. GUY HAZAËL-MASSIEUX. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1996. 374 pp. (Paper 260 FF)

The Kiss of a Slave: Papiamentu's West-African Connections. EFRAIM FRANK MARTINUS. Curaçao: De Curaçaose Courant, 1997. 292 pp. (Paper US\$ 57.50)

Towards a New Model of Creole Genesis. JOHN H. MCWHORTER. New York: Peter Lang, 1997. 199 pp. (Cloth US\$ 44.95)

In two of the three books reviewed here (those by Hazaël-Massieux and Martinus), theory takes a back seat to description, while in the third (McWhorter's) the roles are reversed. The work by Guy Hazaël-Massieux, whose recent and untimely death saddened his many friends, is entitled *Les Créoles: Problèmes de genèse et de description*, but the author is more concerned with history and description than with creole genesis. The book is a collection of twenty-one essays, all of which have been previously published. However, since their loci were extremely scattered and in many cases difficult of access, especially for Anglophone readers, his widow, Marie-Christine Hazaël-Massieux, has done the field a service by collecting and editing them. Ten of these essays are gathered under the rubric "Genèse et histoire des créoles," and a further seven are described as "Éléments pour une morpho-syntaxe des créoles françaises," leaving only four that concern themselves directly with "Définition et classement des créoles."

Emphasis throughout is on French-based creoles, and in particular the Lesser Antillean varieties. The book draws on its author's thorough (perhaps unrivaled) knowledge of early texts in these creoles, and his conclusion is that their development was gradual, at least with regard to the

features (tense-aspect marking, *pou*-complementation, and so on) with which he specifically deals. Without wishing to devalue these texts, however, it must be pointed out that their analysis requires caution. Such texts are produced in the majority of cases by non-native speakers, less concerned with accurately replicating native structures than the desire to amuse or to impart information. (Hazaël-Massieux, though by no means uncritical of his sources, leans heavily on evangelical materials.) Moreover, they are sparsely distributed across time, leaving gaps in the record often decades long. Consequently, features that may not appear in texts until a century or more after the creole formed may have been present throughout its existence.

This makes it unwise to rely on mere feature counting. For instance, there is only one case in early texts where anything other than a bare (presumably infinitival) predicate shows up after complementizer *pou*; in contemporary texts there are hundreds of citations (see p. 213). But in order to draw any conclusions from this, one would have to count how many times, in the early texts, there is a subject-switch from the main to the subordinate clause. Without such a switch, any modern grammar would predict a bare predicate. Moreover, if a construction turns up *at all* in early texts, it surely must have existed at that time.

When Hazaël-Massieux turns to to creole origins, he finds himself unable to accept a universalist approach because this "removes from history" languages that, more than others, are the products of specific historical events. (That such events might conspire to open a window on biology seems not to have occurred to him.) Like many (most?) Francophone creolists, and unlike most, if not all, non-Francophone creolists, he sees creoles as modified continuations of their superstrates. But this element of *déjà vu* in his work should not deter the growing number of creolists who value historical approaches from buying this book.

Frank Martinus's oddly titled *The Kiss of a Slave* (the published version of his 1996 University of Amsterdam doctoral dissertation) is another matter altogether. The author's stated aim is to show that Papiamentu resulted from the mixture of several pre-existing Afro-Portuguese "dialects" (the word is the author's), basing his arguments on the existence of Guene. And Guene is ... well, what exactly? According to Martinus, the relic of an earlier variety of Lesser Antillean Creole that reveals its roots far more clearly than does its descendant, Papiamentu. But since supporting citations are limited to (mostly) fragmentary songs, riddles, proverbs, and isolated words cropping up in what is otherwise standard Papiamentu, it is not so easy to classify.

Similar problems are found in the study of Palenquero (Escalante 1954) or, for that matter, almost any creole (see, for instance, the Seychelles genre of *sanseon pirog* discussed in Bickerton and Rosalie 1990). Until now,

however, nobody had thought to reify such archaic fragments into an actual language. To be fair, such reification draws support from claims by several writers that Guene was used as a secret language by Papiamentu speakers. However, the available evidence indicates no more than differences in vocabulary, which carry with them some minor phonological differences, plus a handful of dubious indications that some earlier varieties of Papiamentu might have had (like most creoles) zero marking for past actions and (like São Tomense and Palenquero) clause-final as well as clause-medial negation.

None of this, however, deters Martinus (who will hypothesize an otherwise-unattested creole at the drop of a phoneme) from claiming Guene as a language in its own right, with inputs not merely from most Afro-Portuguese creoles but from Angolan Creole, A Mina Creole, and Congolese Creole, varieties hitherto unknown to science. But because there are no mines at El Mina, because St. George (to whom the Portuguese originally dedicated their fort) had to do with rescuing maidens rather than with mines, and because *mina* is a creole form derived from Ptg. *menina* "girl" (hence *maiden*), "the builders of the castle must already have been creole speakers!" (p. 132, exclamation mark in the original). Unfortunately for this ingenious piece of reasoning, creoles universally differentiate sex "by placing the word for 'man' or 'woman' after a neutral word" (p. 89). Since *mina* merely means "child" in the Portuguese Gulf-of-Guinea creoles on which Martinus draws, the A Mina word for "girl," by his own reasoning should have been *mina mulher* or something similar. But to convey the full flavor of this book, one has to take into account such gems as its reanalysis of:

Catch a nigger by his toe
If he hollers, let him go

as Portuguese Creole:

Ke zja ten ke bai deto
"For already have [to] go sleep"
E fi! Ole es la/etigo
"It is finished! Look at this whip." (p. 210)

In addition to such "reconstructions" Martinus also tries to engage in bio-program-bashing, devoting over fifty pages (more than a sixth of the book) to attacking a single fifteen-year-old paper (Bickerton 1984). However, this attack does little to enhance the quality of the book. Martinus's mixture of half-truths, non-sequiturs, mistakes, and wild conjectures is pretty much what one would expect from the revisor of "Eenie meenie."

John McWhorter's *Towards a New Model of Creole Genesis* presents what might seem at first sight a more substantive anti-bioprogram argument. McWhorter appreciates that the case of Hawaiian Creole English (HCE) is crucial to the bioprogram hypothesis, since no West African substrate can be claimed here. According to him, there is "extensive counter-evidence" to the claim that children created HCE. If this review had been allotted twenty thousand, instead of a mere two thousand words, I might be able to document not just the half-truths, non-sequiturs, and mistakes, but also the plain falsifications that constitute the alleged "counter-evidence." Here there is room for only one example, but it is sadly typical.

According to Bickerton (1977), McWhorter claims, "the definite article *da* is treated strictly as an influence from the standard, not as a component within the basilectal system. Thus there is no proper parallel between HCE and Caribbean article systems" (p. 64). In fact, Bickerton (1977) does not treat *da* at all; the form is simply not mentioned, since the work in question concerns itself solely with analyzing the distribution, in a corpus of recorded texts, of a limited set of morphosyntactic features that happened not to include *da*. However, the overall picture drawn there is clearly shown by the following quotation: "We can further claim that the three-way distinction between specific-mentioned, specific nonmentioned, and nonspecific (i.e. truly nondefinite) NP which is common to almost all creoles is found in Hawaii also" (Bickerton 1977:245). The article system (including *da*, naturally) and its theoretical implications are spelled out in some detail in Bickerton (1981:22-26), which McWhorter does not cite.

But in addition to its falsity, McWhorter's claim here is simply illogical. Suppose *da* did result from the influence of standard English on HCE; how would he then explain the existence, with identical distribution, of *da* (or its later, phonologically reduced version *a*) in Kwinti, Boni, Paramaccan, Djuka, Sranan, basilectal Guyanese, and the creoles of Belize and the Cayman Islands (Hancock 1987)? McWhorter wouldn't be the first to claim that identical structures in Caribbean and non-Caribbean creoles are "really" different (see Seuren 1990, Bickerton 1990). But regardless of how it is treated, the article system of basilectal HCE does show formal identity with that of Caribbean creoles, and no amount of distortion can conceal this (to some) unpalatable truth.

Fortunately, the issue of HCE's status should by now be clear, since Roberts (1998) presents incontrovertible evidence that at least some of the language's most crucial elements were indeed produced by children. This fact already casts doubt on any "new model" of creolization, since it would be bizarre indeed if Hawaiian and Caribbean plantations, similar in all but the slave/indentured laborer distinction, should yield two totally different methods of language creation. But even without the Hawaiian evidence, McWhorter's model would be a shaky one, for a variety of reasons.

First it is remarkable to find, in a series entitled "Studies in Ethnolinguistics" which explicitly targets "use [of language] in its social context" as a primary focus, a theory which is totally abstract and devoid of the most minimal reference to the social matrices of pidginization and creolization, to the history of plantation societies, to their unique demographics, or to anything that remotely smacks of the real world. There is a reason for this, of course. It represents the high price McWhorter has to pay for his refusal to accept that Saramaccan was born right where it still lives – in the forests to which escaped slaves fled in late seventeenth-century Suriname. He refuses to accept this because, according to bioprogram theory, Saramaccan would then represent the purest form of creole language, having been formed by the children of slaves who had had minimal exposure to a mixture of English and Portuguese. So for ideological reasons, the birth of Saramaccan must be pushed back – but where to? Not to the original Suriname settlement; its population balance between black and white was too even to have spawned a radical creole. Not to Barbados, where at the relevant period there was a white majority. Thus McWhorter is driven to assume that a creole as radical as Saramaccan emerged in a single West African fort (Cormantyn), was transmitted to the Caribbean, and somehow survived the adverse demographics of Barbados and early Suriname. And all of this was achieved by a founder population that cannot have numbered more than a few dozen.

To support such a sociolinguistically unlikely scenario, McWhorter can produce not a single citation, not one iota of historical evidence. Nor does he answer (or even show awareness of) questions such as why, if proto-Saramaccan survived the transplant to Suriname, it did not also blossom in the increasingly black post-1650 population of Barbados. As for his linguistic evidence, this consists of a handful of lexical items for which there are numerous alternative explanations. But the abstract nature of his "new model" stems from precisely this fact: it must be vague enough to cover two very different societies, the plantation and the fort. That model can be summarized as follows: contact is followed by pidginization which is followed by creolization, which involves some superstrate influence, quite a lot of substratum influence, and even a bit of universal influence.

Sounds familiar? The only novel contribution in the entire "new model" is the suggestion that substrate as well as superstrate speakers simplified their languages, but since the only evidence offered for this is the absence of certain substrate features from creoles, the argument is circular. The irony of the situation is this. If, in the late 1970s, the creole community had wholeheartedly embraced bioprogram theory and sought to confirm it, the theory would probably have by now been superseded or at least modified so radically as to become unrecognizable. By mounting an endless series of empirically flawed and ill-thought-out attacks on it, its

opponents have insured its continued vitality in (more or less) its pristine form. None of these three volumes looks at all likely to alter that status.

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BOOKSHELF 1998

With the usual solemnity, it is once again our duty to announce the annual Caribbeanist Hall of Shame. As always, we list those books that, as of press time (January 1999), have not been reviewed because the scholars who agreed to the task have – despite reminder letters – neither provided a text nor relinquished the books so that they could be assigned to someone else. (Continuing the practice initiated in 1997, we indicate names with both initial and final letters, in an attempt to forestall false accusations and protect the reputations of the innocent.) And as in past years, we hope these paragraphs may serve as a kind of backlist “books received.” We are pleased to report that the advent of email has helped make this year’s list even briefer than in the past. (As George Mentore wrote, in reply to an email, “Thank you for the gentle reminder; shame, as you know, always works for Caribbeanists.”) And we join other *NWIG* readers in expressing heartfelt thanks to all those scholars who did take the time to prepare reviews and share their assessments.

We continue to await an important review article from R—t L. P—e covering *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800*, by Robin Blackburn (London: Verso, 1997, cloth US\$ 35.00), *Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage*, edited by M.L. Bush (London: Longman, 1996, paper £12.25), *Empire, Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean*, by Michael Craton (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1997, paper US\$ 24.95), *The Business of Abolishing the British Slave Trade 1783-1807*, by Judith Jennings (London: Frank Cass, 1997, cloth US\$ 39.50, paper US\$ 19.50), and *Questioning Slavery*, by James Walvin (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1997, paper US\$ 22.95).

Double reviews that have not materialized include: two books by Pedro San Miguel, *Los campesinos del Cibao: Economía de mercado y transformación agraria en la República Dominicana, 1880-1960* (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1997, paper US\$ 12.95)

and *La isla imaginada: Historia, identidad y utopia en La Española* (San Juan, Isla Negra, Santo Domingo: La Trinitaria, 1997, paper n.p.) [N—i M. Z—r]; *Critical Issues in Caribbean Development: West Indian Development and the Deepening and Widening of the Caribbean Community*, by William G. Demas (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1997, paper US\$ 20.00) and *Critical Issues in Caribbean Development: The New World Trade Order: Uruguay Round Agreements and the Implications for Caricom States*, by Frank Rampersad (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1997, paper US\$ 22.95) [I—w L. G—h]; and *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life*, by Jon Lee Anderson (London: Bantam, 1997, cloth £ 12.99), and *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War, 1956-1958*, by Ernesto Che Guevara (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1996, paper US\$ 23.95) [I—n S—s]. Because of illness, Antonio Lauria has not been able to complete a double review of *La memoria rota: Ensayos sobre cultura y política*, by Arcadio Díaz-Quinones (Río Piedras: Huracán, 1993, paper n.p.) and *Colonial Dilemma: Critical Perspectives on Contemporary Puerto Rico*, edited by Edwin Meléndez & Edgardo Meléndez (Boston: South End Press, 1993, paper US\$ 16.00); we wish him a continuing speedy recovery.

Three individual book reviews, long outstanding, have not been submitted. As always, we would be pleased to publish them even if tardily, but in the meantime we simply list them here. *Medicine and Morality in Haiti: The Contest for Healing Power*, by Paul Brodwin (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996, cloth £50.00, paper £17.95) [D—e V—n]; *Jamaica Genesis: Religion and the Politics of Moral Orders*, by Diane J. Austin-Broos (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, cloth US\$ 50.00, paper US\$ 19.95) [J—n W. P—s]; and *Merengue: Dominican Music and Dominican Identity*, by Paul Austerlitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997, cloth US\$ 54.95, paper US\$ 19.95) [L—s W—n].

We turn now to publications which, for a variety of other reasons, are not being given full reviews in the journal. First, literature (including, of course, only those volumes that have been sent to the journal by their publishers). *The Farming of Bones* (New York: Soho Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 23.00), Edwidge Danticat's luminous historical novel about the Trujillo regime's 1937 massacre of Haitians, is a triumph – sweet, melancholy, and written with the firm voice of truth. Antonio Benítez-Rojo's *A View from the Mangrove* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 24.95) is a variegated set of Caribbean stories, with settings ranging from sixteenth-century Mexico to Revolutionary Saint-Domingue to contemporary Cuba, told in a virtuosic variety of narrative styles – a genuine pleasure to read. *True & False Romances: Macho Latin Meets His Match*, by Ana Lydia Vega (New York: Serpent's Tail, 1994, paper US\$ 10.39), is the first collection in English of this Puerto Rican

author's deft short stories (plus a novella), playing with the varieties of genre fiction to comment on contemporary Puerto Rican gender wars.

Three literary anthologies have reached us. *They Came in Ships: An Anthology of Indo-Guyanese Prose and Poetry* (Leeds UK: Peepal Tree Press, 1998, paper US\$ 24.95), edited by Joel Benjamin, Lakshmi Kallicharan, Ian McDonald & Lloyd Searwar, is a valuable collection, drawing on novels, short stories, essays, and poems that relate to the East Indian experience in Guyana, arranged chronologically and culminating with the mid-twentieth-century flowering of writings by Indo-Guyanese themselves. *The Whistling Bird: Women Writers of the Caribbean*, edited by Elaine Campbell & Pierrette Frickey (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1998, paper US\$ 22.95), intended as "a book of celebration," is a perhaps necessarily thin sampling of fiction, poetry, and drama in English (some in translation), arranged alphabetically by island of origin. And the sixteen short stories in *Cubana: Contemporary Fiction by Cuban Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 26.00), edited by Mirta Yáñez, constitute a vibrant selection in English from *Estatuas de Sal*, published in Cuba in 1996, focusing on questions of feminism, consciousness, and identity, and revealing much about daily life under Castro.

The French Antilles continue their remarkable literary production. In *Desirada* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1997, paper 129 FF), which was awarded the 1997 Prix Carbet de la Caraïbe, Maryse Condé traces the lives of three generations of women, from la Désirade to Paris to Boston, sharing lies, secrets, multiple relationships, and a rich mixture of tenderness, disappointment, and bitterness – a cosmopolitan novel, staunchly woman-centered, which breaks the mold of the Creolist prize-winners that preceded it. Appearing simultaneously (same price, same publisher) is Condé's, *Pays Mêlé*, a series of short stories with similar range. Patrick Chamoiseau's *L'esclave vieil homme et le molosse* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997, paper 80 FF) is a haunting tale of Old Man Slave who one day maroons and the beastly hound who pursues him through the Martiniquan wilderness; in magical language, interspersed with snippets from Glissant, Chamoiseau has produced what we find his most powerful writing since *Chronique des sept misères*. Speaking of which, *Elmire des sept bonheurs* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998, paper 130 FF), Chamoiseau's latest, with photos by Jean-Luc Laguarigue, is an homage to the Saint-Étienne distillery in Gros Morne, expressed through the author's homogenizing, imagino-poetic ventriloquism of "an old laborer," apparently built in some way (we are never told how or in what form) upon the oral histories of the place maintained by long-term workers – coffee-table writing to match the coffee-table photos. And Marie-Reine de Jaham, Martinique's best-selling *béké* writer, has now produced a two-volume historical romance / dynastic

saga, *L'or des îles* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1996, paper 139 FF) and *Le sang du volcan* (same publisher, 1997, paper 129 FF) for the apparently insatiable hexagonal market.

In 1854, Trinidadian Maxwell Philip published what appears to be the first Anglo-Caribbean novel, *Emmanuel Appadocca; or, Blighted Life: A Tale of the Boucaniers*, now reprinted and ably edited by Selwyn R. Cudjoe & William E. Cain (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997, cloth US\$ 60.00, paper US\$ 17.95), who help contextualize it in relation to English and American literary production on the eve of the U.S. Civil War. *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself*, edited by Moira Ferguson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997, paper US\$ 14.95), is an augmented edition of the 1993 version, with a new introduction and several interesting appendixes relating to current debates about slavery in Bermuda. From the contemporary Anglophone Caribbean we have *Virgin's Triangle*, by Kevin Baldeosingh (Oxford UK: Heinemann, 1997, paper £5.99), a light, comic look at contemporary Trini lifestyles, and *Prash and Ras*, two novellas by N.D. Williams (Leeds UK: Peepal Tree Press, 1997, paper £6.99) – the unconvincing *Ras* is in the form of the diary of a month in the life of a young German woman who goes to Jamaica to find herself, and ends up (predictably) among some Rasta brethren, while the rather more successful *Prash* describes the travails of a Guyanese family who migrate to the Bronx.

In his posthumously published *Paulina's hemelvaart: Surinaamse verhalen* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1997, paper NLG 29.90), Herman Wekker retells stories remembered from his youth in Paramaribo, ranging from tales of talking animals and spirits told him by his Arawak grandmother to accounts of slave rebellion on the Upper Cottica that lie deep in Creole oral tradition. From Laetitia Boeken in Rotterdam we have received an apparently random selection from the numerous lightweight novels of Suriname-born Don Walther Donner – *Het bloed kruipt...*, (1997, translated by the author from his *The Shadow of the Past*), *Zeg nooit nooit (Kroniek van een verwoest leven): Een Caraïbisch drama* (1998, which seems to have originated in a 1991 publication called *Never Ever Say Never (a thriller)*, published in Costa Rica), *The Conspiracy: An Entertainment* (1995), and *The Politicians* (n.d., with an “international best seller” stamp on the jacket). *Eigen richting*, by Jan van Hout (Arnhem: Ellessy, 1997, paper NLG 32.50), is another Dutch thriller set in Suriname that gives, in a glossary, such helpful explanations as that “Djuka's” are “an Indian tribe.”

Finally, we note the recent translation of two Caribbean-based novels: Patrick Chamoiseau's *Solibo Magnificent* (New York: Pantheon, 1997, cloth US\$ 23.00) manages to capture in English something of the extra-

vagant French-Creole wordplay of the 1988 original, and Richard & Sally Price's *Die Instrumente der Fälscher* (Hamburg: Ernst Kabel Verlag, 1998) invites German readers to ponder the enigmas of art forgery in the Guianas.

For younger readers, *Antia Hulandes mirá pa wowo di mucha*, by Marie Wijk (Meppel: Editorial Edu'Actief, 1997, cloth NLG 27.50), is illustrated with wonderful children's drawings and provides a fine introduction to Papiamentu; and *Anansi tussen god en duivel* (Rotterdam: Lemniscaat, 1997, cloth NLG 34.50) is veteran storyteller Noni Lichtveld's latest contribution, in Dutch and with colorful illustrations, to the ever expanding saga of the Atlantic world's greatest trickster, here caught playing four-hands piano as well as coaching a football team.

Works of literary criticism that we are otherwise unable to review include several relating to Cuba: *Guillermo Cabrera Infante: Two Islands, Many Worlds*, by Raymond D. Souza (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996, paper US\$ 14.95), a fast-paced literary biography based in part on interviews with the author; *Cuban-American Literature of Exile: From Person to Persona* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 45.00, paper US\$ 19.50), in which Isabel Alvarez Borland explores the ways diasporic Cuban writers – Cabrera Infante, Reinaldo Arenas, Cristina Garcia, and others – have managed the shift of language and cultures in their fictions of exile and displacement; and *Dance Between Two Cultures: Latino Caribbean Literature Written in the United States*, by William Luis (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1997, cloth US\$ 39.95), a rich and lively analysis of poetry, stories, and novels by writers from (or with roots in) Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic – an important work.

The appearance of literary criticism relating to Francophone works continues apace. *Littératures francophones. II. Les Amériques: Haïti, Antilles-Guyane, Québec*, by Jack Corzani, Léon-François Hoffmann & Marie-Lyne Piccione (Paris: Belin, 1998, paper n.p.), is more than simply an excellent summary of the literary history of each territory with numerous exemplary texts, for it expresses (sometimes with sly wit) forceful opinions on movements such as "la créolité." *Conversations with Maryse Condé*, by Françoise Pfaff (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996, paper US\$ 15.00) is a translation of an excellent 1993 French book which consisted of interviews between 1981 and 1991, augmented here by a 1994 interview discussing two of Condé's more recent works. *The African and Caribbean Historical Novel in French: A Quest for Identity*, by Paschal B. Kyiiripuo Kyoore (New York: Peter Lang, 1996, cloth US\$ 46.95), is a plodding study that considers historical novels against a background of *négritude* ideology, and includes chapters on "revalorizations" of the figure of the maroon in the novels of Léonard Sainville and Édouard

Glissant. *Une branche emportée par le vent: Franstalige literatuur uit de Cariben*, edited by Aart G. Broek, Herman G. van Genderen, Pamela H. v.d. Poel-Cassé, Tineke A.J. Pruis-Groot & Christa M. Roose-Weijer (Curaçao: Carilexis [Postbus 4221, Curaçao, Ned. Antillen], 1997, paper NLG 31.00), is a nice collection of text excerpts in French and Creole, with Dutch introductions and annotations, designed as a preliminary entree for Dutch speakers to Francophone Caribbean literature. *Le folklore et la littérature orale créole dans l'oeuvre de Simone Schwarz-Bart (Guadeloupe)*, by Kathleen Gyssels (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen, 1997, paper n.p.), is an insightful sixty-odd-page pamphlet reworking aspects of the author's 1996 dissertation. *Paradoxes of French Caribbean Theatre: An Annotated Checklist of Dramatic Works – Guadeloupe, Guyane, Martinique from 1900*, by Bridget Jones & Sita E. Dickson Littlewood (London: Department of Modern Languages, Roehampton Institute, n.d., paper £5.00), is a useful checklist of the often ephemeral (because usually unpublished) plays written and produced in the French Antilles during the twentieth century. *Mythologie du métissage*, by Roger Toumson (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998, paper 138 FF), is an erudite historical-philosophical-literary analysis of the concept of métissage, beginning with "the dialogue between Oedipus and the Sphinx," laboriously working its way through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, all building toward an indirect critique of the *créolistes* (none of whom are mentioned by name) and the contemporary "*roman créolitaire*."

We've received a mini-shelf of books that focus on Jamaica. *Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader*, edited by Nathaniel Samuel Murrell, William David Spencer & Adrian Anthony McFarlane (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 69.95, paper US\$ 29.95), is an excellent anthology, with extensive bibliography – an important source book for Caribbeanists. *Reggae Routes: The Story of Jamaican Music*, by Kevin O'Brien Chang & Wayne Chen (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998, paper US\$ 19.95), is a heavily illustrated popular history of the subject written "from a Jamaican point of view." *Cattle and I: An Autobiography*, by T.P. Lecky (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1996, cloth US\$ 39.95), centers on cattle-breeding but contains a good bit about class, color, and the inner workings of Jamaican society during much of the twentieth century. *Drumblair: Memories of a Jamaican Childhood*, by Rachel Manley (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1996, cloth US\$ 20.00, paper US\$ 15.95), provides a revealing child's-eye view of the author's father, Michael, and particularly of her grandparents, Norman and Edna, in the years surrounding independence. And *A Man Divided: Michael Garfield Smith, Jamaican Poet and Anthropologist 1921-1993*, by Douglas Hall (Kingston: The Press University of the West Indies, 1997,

paper US\$ 15.00), is an insightful biography of the prolific scholar who, more than any other Caribbeanist, relentlessly championed the plural society thesis; the book is laced with extracts from Smith's poetry and is complemented by a bibliography of his work.

Various books on Cuba merit brief mention. *Cuba at the Crossroads*, by Fidel Castro (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1996, paper n.p.), is a collection of speeches between 1994 and 1996. *CIA Targets Fidel: Secret 1967 CIA Inspector General's Report on Plots to Assassinate Fidel Castro* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1996, paper \$ 9.56), presents the "Secret Eyes Only" report, declassified (but with deletions) in 1994, describing the use of everything from chemically-treated cigars, to a powder that was to be deposited in Fidel's shoes (when they were put out to be shined at night) to make his beard fall out, to a skin-diving suit given him as a gift and treated with chemical weapons containing tuberculosis bacilli, to an explosives-filled spectacularly beautiful seashell he might pick up off the seabed on one of his diving expeditions – and the Mafia is never far offstage. Could it possibly be true? *Cuba Today: The Slow Demise of Castroism, with a Preamble for Spaniards*, by Carlos Alberto Montaner (Madrid: Fundación para el Análisis y los Estudios Sociales, 1996, paper n.p.), offers a collection of this Cuban-born anti-Castro journalist's recent newspaper articles. *Canada-Cuba Relations: The Other Good Neighbor Policy*, by John M. Kirk & Peter McKenna (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, cloth US\$ 49.95), provides an excellent analysis of the ways Canada has, despite considerable pressure from the United States, steered its own course in relations with Castro's Cuba. *Presencia castellana en el "Ejército Libertador Cubano" 1895-1898*, by Juan A. Blanco Rodríguez & Coralía Alonso Valdés (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1996, paper n.p.), analyzes the contributions of men from Castilla and León – as opposed to Spaniards more generally – to the struggle for Cuban independence. *Cuba and the United States: A Chronological History*, by Jane Franklin (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1997, paper US\$ 21.95), is an updated version, running through 1995, of the author's 1992 *The Cuban Revolution and the United States: A Chronological History* – this remains a very useful sourcebook. *Cuba: Talking about Revolution – Conversations with Juan Antonio Blanco*, by Medea Benjamin (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1997, paper £ 7.95), is a reprint of a 1994 book plus one additional interview. *Guerrilla Warfare*, by Che Guevara, edited by Brian Loveman & Thomas M. Davies, Jr. (Wilmington DE: Scholarly Resources, 1997, cloth US\$ 55.00, paper US\$ 21.95), is the third edition of this 1985 work, which groups Che's 1960 classic with two later essays, "Guerrilla Warfare: A Method" (1963) and "Message to the Tricontinental" (1967).

We were unable to secure reviewers for several books on Cuba, including three written from a U.S. perspective: *Cuba: Clearing Perilous Waters?*, by Edward Gonzalez (Santa Monica CA: Rand, 1996, paper US\$ 15.00), which was prepared for the Office of the Secretary of Defense; *The Cuban Missile Crisis: The Struggle over Policy*, by Roger Hilsman (Westport CT: Greenwood, 1996, cloth US\$ 45.00), which has a blurb by Senator Edward Kennedy; and *The United States and Cuba under Reagan and Shultz: A Foreign Service Officer Reports*, by Kenneth N. Skoug, Jr. (Westport CT: Praeger, 1996, cloth US\$ 57.95), former Coordinator of Cuban Affairs in the U.S. State Department. No one agreed to review *Rumba: Dance and Social Change in Contemporary Cuba*, by Yvonne Daniel (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 29.95, paper US\$ 12.95), or *Transición y transacción: La revista cubana Casa de las Américas (1960-1976)*, by Nadia Lie (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 1996, paper US\$ 30.00). Nor could we find a willing reviewer for two German works about recent history and current prospects for the island: *Kuba Zwischen Plan und Markt: Die Transformation zur "dualen Wirtschaft" seit 1985*, by Knut Henkel (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1996, paper DM 34.80), and *Kuba: Der lange Abschied von einem Mythos*, by Hans-Jürgen Burchardt (Stuttgart: Schmetterling, 1996, paper n.p.). A more recent Dutch-language work covering much of the same ground, though intended for a more general audience, is *De gok van Fidel: Cuba tussen socialisme en kapitalisme?*, by Marc Vandepitte (Berchem-Antwerp: EPO, 1998, paper NLG 38.00).

We have received several publications on the Netherlands Antilles. Three books by J. Hartog (each published in 1997 in cloth at Zaltbommel by Uitgeverij Europese Bibliotheek and priced at NLG 29.90), which one must suppose to be definitive about local forts and earthworks in the Netherlands Antilles, are filled with photos, plans, and maps: *De forten, verdedigingswerken en geschutstellingen van Curaçao en Bonaire: Van Van Walbeeck tot Wouters, 1634-1942*; *De forten, verdedigingswerken en geschutstellingen van Sint Maarten en Saint Martin: Van Jan Claeszen tot Willem Rink, 1631-1803*; and *De forten, verdedigingswerken en geschutstellingen van Sint Eustatius en Saba: Van Pieter van Corselles tot Abraham Heyliger, 1636-1785*. In *Carnival in Aruba: History and Meaning in Aruba's Bacchanal* (Amherst NY: Cenda Publications, 1997, paper US\$ 15.00), anthropologist Victoria M. Razak offers a brisk illustrated runthrough of the history of the island's carnival, focusing on its stock characters, masquerade groups, and music. *Fighting Money Laundering: With Comments on the Legislations of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba*, by Cees Schaap (Cambridge: Kluwer Law International, 1998, paper US\$ 57.00), is a technical guide designed "for the staff of financial institutions, government personnel, accountants,

and the legal profession" in the fight against sophisticated laundering practices of money that has been obtained from criminal activities. *Catalogus prentbriefkaarten van Curaçao: Uitgevers en uitgaven van 1898 tot 1950*, by Ben Smit (Curaçao: Ben Smit, 1996, paper n.p.), presents more than one hundred historic postcards of Curaçao. *The Nature of Saba: Ten Years of Conservation Work*, text by Tom van 't Hof, photographs by Dos and Bertie Winkel (Saba: Saba Conservation Foundation, 1997, cloth NLG 75.00), offers coffee-table-quality photo-essays mainly depicting the flora and fauna of the island. And *The Fruit of Her Hands: Saba Lace History and Patterns*, by Eric A. Eliason (Saba: Saba Foundation for the Arts, 1997, paper n.p.), is a little gem of history and photodocumentation about the locally important art of drawn-thread lace making.

Some miscellaneous works on Caribbean economic development. *Economic Policy and the Environment: The Caribbean Experience*, edited by Mark D. Griffith & Bishnodat Persaud (Mona, Jamaica: Centre for Environment and Development, University of the West Indies, 1995, paper US\$ 15.00), is a broad-ranging series of papers from a 1994 conference in St. Kitts. *Poverty, Empowerment and Social Development in the Caribbean*, edited by Norman Girvan (Mona, Jamaica: Canoe Press University of the West Indies, 1997, paper US\$ 12.00), is a collection of papers from a 1995 conference in Barbados. *Problems and Challenges in Modelling and Forecasting Caribbean Economies*, edited by Shelton Nicholls, Hyginus Leon & Patrick Watson (St. Augustine, Trinidad: Caribbean Centre for Monetary Studies, 1996, paper n.p.), is a series of highly technical papers presented in 1994 in Jamaica. *The Debt Dilemma*, by Horace A. Bartilow (London: Macmillan, 1997, paper £14.95), analyzes the 1980s conflicts of interest between the IMF and the United States in Caribbean policy, as well as the constraints faced by Caribbean debtor nations. *Why Workers Won't Work. The Worker in a Developing Economy: A Case Study of Jamaica*, by Kenneth L. Carter (London: Macmillan, 1997, paper £14.95), is a study written for "practitioners of human resource management" and analyzes workers' dissatisfactions and their distrust of employers which lead them to underproduce. *Metayage, Capitalism and Peasant Development in St Lucia 1840-1957*, by Peter Adrien (Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press University of the West Indies, 1997, paper US\$ 10.00), explores the emergence of a "capitalist" peasant class engaged in export agriculture from a post-emancipation form of sharecropping in Dennery. *Land, Sea and Human Effort in the Caribbean*, edited by Beate M. W. Ratter & Wolf-Dietrich Sahr (Hamburg: Institut für Geographie der Universität Hamburg, 1997, paper DM 45.00), presents varied papers from a 1996 International Geographical Congress symposium. *El Primer Foro de la Sociedad Civil del Gran Caribe:*

Documentos (Caracas: INVESP, 1998, paper n.p.) includes various documents from the 1997 Cartagena conference on pan-Caribbean regional cooperation. *Evaluation, Learning and Caribbean Development*, edited by Deryck R. Brown (Mona, Jamaica: Canoe Press University of the West Indies, 1998, paper n.p.), presents case studies from throughout the Caribbean written by students in the Consortium Graduate School of Social Sciences (UWI). *Teodoro Moscoso and Puerto Rico's Operation Bootstrap*, by A.W. Maldonado (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, cloth US\$ 49.95), a quasi-hagiographic work, will be of interest particularly to true believers in "the Puerto Rican miracle." And *Ideology and Caribbean Integration*, by Ian Boxill (Mona, Jamaica: Canoe Press University of the West Indies, 1997, paper US\$ 10.00), reprints his 1993 work, which analyzes the deleterious effects of a weak regional ideology on Caribbean integration.

Turning to linguistics, we welcome two scholarly books devoted to African influences on creoles and other vernacular speech in the Americas. *América negra: Panorámica actual de los estudios lingüísticos sobre variedades hispanas, portuguesas y criollas*, edited by Matthias Perl & Armin Schwegler (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1998, paper n.p.), presents studies by creolists of Caribbean Spanish, Papiamentu, Palenquero, and vernacular Portuguese from the perspective of African influences, and *Huellas etno-sociolingüísticas bozales y afrocubanas*, by Luis A. Ortiz López (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1998, paper n.p.), offers an analysis of African influences on Cuban speech. *Englishes Around the World (1: General Studies, British Isles, North America – Studies in Honour of Manfred Görlach; 2: Caribbean, Africa, Asia, Australasia – Studies in Honour of Manfred Görlach)*, edited by Edgar W. Schneider (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997, cloth n.p.), includes a half dozen varied chapters on particularities of Caribbean language use. *A Learner's Dictionary of Haitian Creole*, by Albert Valdman, Charles Pooser & Rozevel Jean-Baptiste (Bloomington: Indiana University Creole Institute, 1996, cloth US\$ 45.00), is designed as a supplement to the available dictionaries that go in the opposite direction (from Haitian Creole to English) and contain a greater number of total entries – this volume provides some 8000 English entries and sub-entries, with nicely contextualized Haitian Creole translations. *Dictionnaire du français régional des Antilles*, by Sylviane Telchid (Paris: Editions Bonneton, 1997, cloth n.p.), attempts to catalogue the non-standard uses of French (often spilling over from Creole) that occur when Antilleans speak French. And *Stemmen uit het verleden: "Indiaanse woorden in het Papiamentu,"* by Gerard van Buurt & Sidney M. Joubert (Alphen aan den Rijn: Van Buurt BoekProducties, 1997, cloth NLG 75.00), analyzes the Amerindian origins of (and offers historical documentation for) some 200 words and 150 toponyms in Papiamentu

(many of which appear in the speech of the rest of the Caribbean as well).

As happens each year, we have received a number of more general books that include at least some materials relevant to the Caribbean, and we list them here. *The Last Colonies*, by Robert Aldrich & John Connell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, cloth £40.00), sheds sometimes surprising light in a broad comparative context on the specificities of the French DOMs, the remaining Dutch and British Caribbean territories, and Puerto Rico, by defining "colonies" liberally and taking a truly global perspective on the varieties of political dependence. *Post-colonial Literatures in English: History, Language, Theory*, by Dennis Walder (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998, cloth £45.00, paper £13.99), provides a thoughtful introduction to the burgeoning field of postcolonial literary theory, with substantial sections on Anglophone Caribbean writers such as Naipaul, Brathwaite, and Walcott. *AIDS in Africa and the Caribbean*, edited by George C. Bond, John Kreniske, Ida Susser & Joan Vincent (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1997, cloth US\$ 56.00, paper US\$ 22.00), based on 1991 research papers, includes a chapter each on Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. *Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration*, edited by R. Stephen Warner & Judith G. Wittner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 59.95, paper US\$ 24.95), has one chapter on Haitians and another on (mainly Jamaican) Rastas in New York City. *Beyond Praetorianism: The Latin American Military in Transition*, edited by Richard L. Millett & Michael Gold-Bliss (Coral Gables FL: North-South Center Press, 1996, paper US\$ 24.95), includes a chapter on the armed forces in Cuba. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, by Robin Cohen (London: UCL Press Limited, 1997, paper £12.95), is a useful review of the history of "diaspora" as a concept and an analysis and typology of a number of cases. *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997, paper US\$ 17.00), by France Winddance Twine, despite its geographical locus, is a book with implications for the (particularly Hispanic and French) Caribbean, in demonstrating how racism – both institutionalized and personal – is (unconsciously) perpetuated as "common sense" through ordinary discourse and practice.

A number of miscellaneous Caribbeanist works merit notice here. *Op zoek naar Surinaamse normen: Nagelaten geschriften van Jan Voorhoeve (1950-1961)*, selected, introduced, and edited by Peter Meel (Utrecht: CLACS & IBS, 1997, paper NLG 75.00), is a 600-plus-page labor of love, a work of real importance to anyone interested in Suriname studies and one with important implications for Afro-American studies more generally. This collection of previously unpublished letters, lectures, articles, and reports, with excellent introduction, bibliographies and indexes,

underlines the theoretical and methodological influence of this personally modest missionary linguist and ethnographer. As Meel justly notes in his introduction, the influence of Voorhoeve's work regarding the balance of African and New World contributions to the development of Sranan, and his insistence on the dynamic processes of creolization in Suriname, led quite directly into ongoing rethinkings of the Herskovitsian legacy (particularly Mintz and Price's *The Birth of African-American Culture*) and in largely unacknowledged ways continues to influence our own work today (see, for example, the final chapter of Price & Price, *Maroon Arts*, Beacon Press, 1999).

We have been unable to find a reviewer for *West Indies Accounts: Essays on the History of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic Economy in Honour of Richard Sheridan*, edited by Roderick A. McDonald (Barbados: The Press University of the West Indies, 1996, cloth n.p.), a Festschrift for Richard Sheridan that includes contributions by many of the heavyweights of Anglophone Caribbean history.

América Latina y el Caribe anglófono: ¿Hacia una nueva relación?, edited by Andrés Serbin (Buenos Aires: Nuevohacer, 1997, paper n.p.), presents papers from a 1996 conference in Argentina devoted to changing relations between South American countries and the Anglophone Caribbean. *El ocaso de las islas: El Gran Caribe frente a los desafíos globales y regionales*, by Andrés Serbin (Caracas: Nueva Sociedad, 1996, paper n.p.), considers prospects for regional integration in the face of shifting global politico-economic realities. *Caribe 2000: Definiciones, identidades y culturas regionales y/o nacionales*, edited by Lowell Fiet & Janette Becerra (San Juan: University of Puerto Rico, 1997, paper n.p.), is a refreshingly original series of papers on Caribbean identity, aesthetics, and performance (music, poetry, theater), stemming from the ongoing Rockefeller Humanities Program at U.P.R.

Restavec: From Haitian Slave Child to Middle-Class American (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 25.00, paper US\$ 12.95) is the autobiography of Jean-Robert Cadet, who spent his childhood as one of an estimated 250,000 *restavecs* (poor children in the unpaid service of well-to-do Haitian families), emigrated to the United States, and, despite racist barriers, educated himself; he now teaches high school in Cincinnati. *Fifty Years of Change in the Caribbean/Cincuenta años de cambio en el Caribe*, by Thomas Mathews (Dominican Republic: Amigo del Hogar, 1996, paper US\$ 10.00), is a self-published, bilingual, supremely "anecdotal autobiography of my fifty years in the Caribbean" by a former director of the Institute of Caribbean Studies at U.P.R.

Fanon's Dialectic of Experience, by Ato Sekyi-Otu (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1996, paper US\$ 19.95), represents what the author calls an "Africanist-situationist" reading of the Martiniquan thinker,

an attempt to counter what he sees as "the almost exclusive concern of recent Fanon studies with the diaspora of the metropolis." *Citoyenneté et sujétion aux Antilles francophones: Post-esclavage et aspiration démocratique*, by Mickaëlla Périna (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997, paper n.p.), won Martinique's 1998 Prix Frantz Fanon for the author's comparative analysis of the differentially stunted political development of Haiti and the French Antilles.

La nación soñada: Cuba, Puerto Rico y Filipinas ante el 98, edited by Consuelo Naranjo, Miguel A. Puig-Samper & Luis Miguel García Mora (Madrid: Ediciones Doce Calles, 1996, paper Pts 5.850), presents 893 tight-packed pages of proceedings, by some sixty authors, of a 1995 conference in Aranjuez. *La lucha por el sufragio femenino en Puerto Rico 1896-1935*, by María de Fátima & Barceló Miller (Río Piedras PR: Huracán, 1997, paper n.p.), is a careful, well-documented study of the women's suffrage movement in Puerto Rico, which culminated in universal suffrage in 1935. *Cadenas de esclavitud ... y de solidaridad: Esclavos y libertos en San Juan, siglo XIX*, by Raúl Mayo Santana, Mariano Negrón Portillo & Manuel Mayo López (San Juan PR: Centro de Investigaciones Sociales UPR, 1997, paper n.p.), adds one new chapter to two recently published journal articles concerning aspects of urban slavery in nineteenth-century San Juan.

Family in the Caribbean: Themes and Perspectives, by Christine Barrow (Kingston/Oxford: Ian Randle/James Currey, 1996, paper US\$ 20.00), is a massive hybrid of a book combining the author's reviews of the literature relevant to such themes as plural society/creole society, gender roles, and methodology, with short excerpts from many of the key articles and books in the field. *The Young Colonials: A Social History of Education in Trinidad and Tobago, 1834-1939*, by Carl C. Campbell (Kingston: The Press University of the West Indies, 1996, paper J\$ 875.75), is a serious reprise, expanded, of his *Colony and Nation: A Short History of Education in Trinidad and Tobago* (1992). *Potions, Poisons, and Panaceas: An Ethnobotanical Study of Montserrat*, by David Eric Brussel (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 69.95), is an excellent illustrated compendium of the useful plants of Montserrat and a loving homage to the detailed knowledge that its inhabitants have built up over the centuries – how much otherwise survives the volcano? *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean World-views*, edited by Barry Chevannes (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 48.00, paper US\$ 17.95), is an unchanged reprint of its 1995 Macmillan namesake.

De Belizaanse Garifuna: De contouren van een etnische gemeenschap in Midden-Amerika, by Carel Roessingh (Amsterdam: Thela Thesis, 1998, paper NLG 45.00), a Utrecht dissertation in anthropology, focuses on

ethnicity among the Garifuna of Belize. *Inpakken onder schijnwerpers: De prijs van het Surinaamse leger*, by Math Verstegen (Amsterdam: Van Soeren, 1997, paper NLG 36.00), recounts from a Dutch perspective the early 1970s decolonization negotiations, particularly concerning the future Suriname military. Finally, *The History of the Caribbean Telegraphs before the First World War*, by Jorma Ahvenainen (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1996, paper n.p.), presents everything you might ever have wanted to know about that particular subject.

Two major reference works on world slavery have appeared (and we hasten to add that we have copies only because R.P. contributed articles to each – on Maroons, Slave Republics, and related topics): the *Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, edited by Paul Finkelman & Joseph Miller (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1998, cloth US\$ 195.00), 1065 pages in two volumes, and *A Historical Guide to World Slavery*, edited by Seymour Drescher & Stanley L. Engerman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, cloth US\$ 65.00), 429 pages in a single volume. Considering the usual hazards of the genre, both of these works are surprisingly successful, with truly substantive entries written by acknowledged authorities. It is difficult to compare the publications directly, as they cut up the relevant history of the world – from ancient Greek and Roman slavery to Nazi slave labor – somewhat differently, but on the whole the Oxford volume tends to have longer entries and the Macmillan volumes shorter (but more numerous) ones. These two publications nicely complement one another and are strongly recommended for students from high school well onward.

Suriname: A Bibliography 1989-1995, by Irene Rolfes (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1997, paper NLG 60.00), takes off from where the three previous volumes published by KITLV in 1972, 1980, and 1990 left off, covering more than 3000 recent books, articles, dissertations, and other publications received by the library at the KITLV, the most complete current collection of Surinameana in the world. Despite the author's admirable diligence, the compilation is necessarily incomplete, since it lists (without annotation) only those items actually received by the library, thereby missing many articles in non-area-specific journals.

No one was willing to review *General History of the Caribbean, Volume III: The Slave Societies of the Caribbean*, edited by Franklin W. Knight (London: UNESCO Publishing & Macmillan, 1997, cloth £40.00, paper £25.00), which has been under construction for over a decade, for by the time it finally appeared many of its chapters, though solid, were already out of date. And the chapter on "Maroon communities in the circum-Caribbean" could hardly be considered as other than an embarrassing example of petty personal politics – the sources used on Suriname, home to the circum-Caribbean's largest and longest lasting

Maroon communities, range from unpublished manuscripts by Silvia de Groot to the here mis-titled dissertation of John Lenoir (claiming that he worked with Saramakas, not Paramakas), but there is not a single mention of the work of Chris de Beet, Kenneth Bilby, Wim Hoogbergen, Sally Price, Bonno Thoden van Velzen or Ineke van Wetering who have, collectively, during the past three decades, done so much to make the history of these societies the best documented of all New World Maroon communities. And the editorial acrobatics performed in order to avoid any mention at all of *First-Time* or *Alabi's World* are indeed impressive. As the title of historian James Axtell's recent book put it: "The pleasures of academe"...

We note several books in which visuals play a key role: *Suriname door het oog van Julius Muller: Fotografie 1882-1902*, by Steven Vink (Amsterdam: KIT Press, 1996, paper NLG 29.00), presents some of the wonderful images of Paramaribo and outlying districts made in the final decades of the nineteenth century by Suriname photographer Julius Muller – a treasure. *Caribbean Baroque: Historic Architecture of the Spanish Antilles*, by Pamela Gosner (Pueblo CO: Passeggiatta Press, 1996, paper n.p.) is a monumental companion piece to her *Caribbean Georgian* (1982) on the non-Hispanic Caribbean, covering Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic, with numerous drawings of buildings great and small. In *Les épaves du volcan: Martinique 8 mai 1902, La catastrophe de Saint-Pierre* (Grenoble: Editions Glénat, 1997, cloth 260 FF), Claude Rives and Frédéric Denhez create a popular beau-livre, filled with underwater photos of ships sunk in the disaster, interspersed with observations and pictures of Saint-Pierre then and now – pop underwater archaeology and pop history combine in a non-book which originated as a reportage for the French TV show "Thalassa." *Des corps & des voix*, by Monchoachi (Marin, Martinique: Office Municipale de la Culture, 1998, paper n.p.), is a rather curious exhibition catalog, with texts in French by the well-known Creole-language poet and images that juxtapose old photos of Martinique and Guyane with those from Suriname (taken from *Afro-American Arts of the Suriname Rain Forest*); the whole has a mini-"Family of Man" feel about it.

Various guidebooks and other works of travel have come our way. Starting from home: *Les Antilles: Martinique, Guadeloupe* (Paris: Guides Gallimard, n.d., cloth 249 FF) is an unchanged combination of the lavish Gallimard guides to each island, written with the help of local university scholars, that we have reviewed in previous issues (see for example *NWIG* 69:139-40) – it suffers from the same combination of chauvinism and insouciance that we noted earlier, once again taking graphic images of Suriname without acknowledgment from Benoit, Stedman, and Bonaparte and purveying them as representing the specificities of the French Antillean past. *Martinique*, by Claude Morneau (Montreal: Ulysses, 1998,

third edition, paper US\$ 17.95), while workmanlike, largely accurate, and up-to-date, nonetheless contains a few howlers; e.g., breadfruit is glossed as "a large melon-like fruit." *Martinique Dominique et Sainte-Lucie*, by Michel Mac Leod and Jean-Bernard Carillet (Paris: Lonely Planet, 1997, paper US\$ 18.95) presents a vaguely youth-culture, Lonely Planet version of travel, this time in French, briskly covering sights, sounds, and smells.

Virgin Islands Handbook, by Karl Luntta (Chico: Moon Publications, 1997, paper US\$ 13.95), is an unsurprising guidebook by a veteran travel writer, distinguished only by its appropriation (unacknowledged) of two Stedman/Blake Suriname images, one on the title page. *Eastern Caribbean in Focus: A Guide to the People, Politics and Culture*, by James Ferguson (London: Latin America Bureau, 1997, paper US\$ 12.95), though necessarily superficial, is socially conscious enough to be worth several standard guidebooks.

Reishandboek Suriname, by Tessa Leuwsha (Rijswijk: Elmar, 1997, paper NLG 34.50), written by a journalist with Suriname roots who now lives there, is well-meaning and fairly comprehensive, and didn't make us wince more than once every few pages. *Reishandboek Curaçao*, by Rien van der Helm (Rijswijk: Elmar, 1997, paper NLG 34.50), written by a prolific guidebook writer – on every place from "Arizona and Utah" to Jamaica – dishes out the fully expectable. *Caribische eilanden en Suriname*, by Monica van Geest (Utrecht: Kosmos, 1997, paper NLG 34.90), which devotes too little space to any one place or subject, claims that "everyone [in Suriname] speaks Dutch" and that "Marie Rose Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie [Empress Joséphine] is a woman of whom the inhabitants of Martinique are proud" – try either of these out on Dutch tourists visiting a Saramaka village or standing before Joséphine's long-since-decapitated statue in the center of Fort-de-France!

In *Enkele reis Paramaribo: Terug in Suriname* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1998, paper NLG 29.90), Iwan Brave, a Suriname-born journalist who re-migrated to his homeland, collects the mordant observations he wrote for the Dutch press between 1996 and 1998 – interesting comments on everything from race politics to day-to-day living, with an overwhelming sense of the continuing power of former dictator Bouterse. *Suriname: Een gids voor vrienden*, by Astrid H. Roemer & Gerlof Leistra (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1997, paper NLG 29.90), is an intimate, bittersweet essay on Suriname as it was and is, covering gender relations, the arts, and a host of other topics.

Three journal issues merit notice. *Wadabagei (A Journal of the Caribbean and its Diaspora)* has published its inaugural issue (1998), including articles on migration and identity by Roy Bryce-Laporte and others, as well as book reviews – subscription address is Caribbean Research Center, Medgar Evers College, 1150 Carroll St, Brooklyn NY

11225. A stimulating special issue of *Plantation Society in the Americas* (volume 5, number 1, 1998), devoted to "who/what is creole?" and edited by A. James Arnold includes articles by, among others, Michel-Rolph Touillot and Silvio Torres-Saillant as well as an interview with Sidney W. Mintz. *Bridging Enigma: Cubans on Cuba* is a special issue of *The South Atlantic Quarterly* (96:1, winter 1997, sold separately for US\$ 12.00) edited by Ambrosio Fornet and covering contemporary theater, film, music, and literature.

We end, happily, with singing and cooking: *Peter Was a Fisherman: The 1939 Trinidad Field Recordings of Melville and Frances Herskovits, Vol I*, produced by Donald L. Hill with notes by Donald L. Hill, Maureen Warner-Lewis, John Cowley & Lise Winer (Cambridge MA: Rounder Records, 1998, CD), is a gem of a collection, with terrific explanatory notes. We are treated to a variety of sacred and secular songs recorded in Toco (the site of *Trinidad Village*) and at a Shango ceremony in Laventille (Port of Spain) that sound almost as if they could have been recorded yesterday. Bring on the next volumes! *Folk Songs of Barbados*, by Trevor Marshall, Peggy McGahey & Grace Thompson (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1996, paper US\$ 12.95), is a fine collection of seventy-two born-in-Barbados songs, each presented with music, words, and stories about its origin (commemorating scandals, jokes, celebrations, revenge) – together, the songs offer a bright window on the social history of the island. *If I Can Cook/You Know God Can*, by Ntozake Shange (Boston: Beacon, 1998, cloth US\$ 20.00), is part memoir, part poetry, part cookbook, and part historical fancy: "What did L'Ouverture, Pétion, and Dessalines share," she wonders, "for their victory dinner, realizing they were the first African nation, slave-free, in the New World?" *The Pepper Lady's Pocket Pepper Primer*, by Jean Andrews (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998, paper US\$ 17.95), is a superb guide to the identification of all varieties of peppers, with excellent photos – a must for every thinking Caribbean cook. *Dorinda's Taste of the Caribbean: African-Influenced Recipes from the Islands*, by Dorinda Hafner (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 1996, paper US\$ 16.95), is the Ghanaian-born author's gift to food-lovers – 100+ mouth-watering recipes (from goat stew and okra soup to tickle-me-belly and conky) and tight-focus color photos of dishes from Cuba, Curaçao, Dominica, Guadeloupe, Jamaica, T & T, and other islands. Equally glossy but considerably more upscale is *The Sugar Mill Caribbean Cookbook: Casual and Elegant Recipes Inspired by the Islands* (Boston MA: Harvard Common Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 29.95), by transplanted Californians Jinx and Jefferson Morgan, who have served as *Bon Appetit* columnists and now run "a small hotel for a few special people" on Tortola – if rum-glazed roast turkey breast with plantain and mango stuffing or smoked scallops with salsa and Dijon cream sound like your kind of

dish, we imagine it might be easier to visit Tortola than to whip it up in your own kitchen.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail. W. JEFFREY BOLSTER. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997. xiv + 310 pp. (Cloth US\$ 27.00)

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The social tissue of a "Black Atlantic" world – fashionably so named by Paul Gilroy and newly discovered by a generation of intellectuals disenchanting with the limitations of nationally-conceived political and scholarly agendas – is now beginning to emerge more clearly with the publication of studies like Jeffrey Bolster's fine book. *Black Jacks* provides a nuanced account of black maritime life and labor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In doing so, the book also complements and builds on recent scholarship on the maritime working class (as exemplified, say, in Marcus Rediker's work), and on the pioneering attempts by Peter Linebaugh to chart the connections between a variety of oppressed peoples otherwise separated by their national, "racial," and religious backgrounds. The book makes a significant contribution to the historiography of black diaspora and maritime society.

Black Jacks navigates social life on the sea lanes and in the port cities of the U.S. eastern seaboard more confidently and more thoroughly than it does their equivalents in the Caribbean, Western Europe, or West Africa. Yet the fact that its author ventures, in various insightful sections, into all of these other sub-regions of the Atlantic system is a real tribute to the book's border-transcending dexterity. Bolster provides, for instance, an important early chapter on West African seafaring traditions and their scarcely acknowledged incorporation into an expanding transcontinental

commercial order. Another chapter vividly recounts the transcultural interchange that occurred among the 6,000 or so U.S. seamen – about one-sixth of their number black – taken as prisoners of war by the British in the war of 1812 and incarcerated at Dartmoor prison above the windswept southwest coast of England. Moreover, the Caribbean currents running through the book acknowledge, for example, the centrality of the Haitian Revolution to the personal and political maneuverings of black sailors, trace the extensive involvement of black seamen – both slave and free – in coastal and interterritorial shipping in the Antilles, and remind us of black participation in pirate ventures up to the early eighteenth century.

Bolster writes with the authority of a seasoned seaman and the sensitivity of a well-trained social historian. Drawing on these aptitudes his account is particularly rich in its explorations of the dynamics of “race” and class, the generation and play of cultural styles and forms, and the politics of meaning that might be inferred from the descriptive traces of past actions he so ably recovers from his sources. Besides fostering a diasporic black identity, seafaring is shown to have provided crucial opportunities both economic and political, and sailors to have played important leadership roles, in emergent black communities. While most black mariners worked as cooks and officers’ servants, a few operated as pilots and captains. Incomes earned at sea provided critical economic resources; news passed noiselessly by seamen nurtured black political consciousness. But Bolster is always careful to make known the other side: that life at sea also afforded a cramped existence and was never free of the effects of racism as these became gradually delineated ashore. Occupational access was severely restricted for black sailors, and, even as black and white mariners were brought together intimately on the basis of class, and drew from each others’ traditions in creating lasting maritime cultural styles in music, dress and the like, the burdens, risks, and challenges that each group uniquely faced differed significantly on the basis of “race.”

For all of Bolster’s commendable alacrity at describing a social world not entirely fenced in by the containing categories of nationality, “race,” or class, *Black Jacks* nevertheless remains restrictively pivoted in a North American social space. The book arches between a time (the decades that span the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) relatively open and hospitable to black seamen, and one (in the mid-nineteenth century) increasingly restrictive and hostile. Its final chapter, “Toward Jim Crow at Sea,” depressingly marks the turn to white barbarity in the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

But this North-Americanist perspective does not satisfactorily anticipate compelling efforts to break down these restrictive barriers of “race” by black mariners traveling along other routes. How should one view the career of a Hugh Mulzac, for example, the mariner from Union Island in the

Grenadines who only comes to know the corrosiveness of "race" when he ships into port for the first time in North America, but who nonetheless pushes at the restrictive barriers placed in the way of black seamen and earns his master's licence in Baltimore with top honors in December 1918 (Mulzac 1963:66-68)? Even as Jim Crow took roost, as opportunities for black sailors diminished, and as the sea appeared to hold less and less interest for black communities on land, one finds the collective political will building – *submarine* – across the black diaspora to embrace and to underwrite Marcus Garvey's dream of a Black Star Line. How do we account (given Bolster's recounting of the decades immediately preceding) for this paradox? Bolster includes fascinating discussion of the political maneuvers made possible and encouraged by the Haitian Revolution, black seamen being readily granted citizenship and succor by the Haitian judicial system. Is it possible to find out more about the careers and the choices made by black mariners (and not only in the wake of the Haitian Revolution) who deliberately cut themselves loose from their political ties to the United States, or came to work those ties with strategic ambiguity? How might the trajectory that emerges from Bolster's account be different if the point of vantage were, say, Cardiff?

In *Black Jacks* we see the gradual coming into being of a black ethnicity at sea, but, regrettably, not of a white one. The "whiteness" of white sailors does not emerge as contingent, but rather is presumed always to have been so. White sailors are shown to have been influenced by their black counterparts, yet not to have questioned the superior social value placed on their "whiteness." But was this assumption of a "white" racial identity really a "just so" story, or was it, too, nurtured into being and perpetuated at sea by a complex dialectic of forces orchestrated in relation to the plantation slave economy on land?

These questions speak to the interpretive and contextual framing of Bolster's account, rather than its content. I realize that behind such questions what I am really pressing is the critical need for our gifted historians to give us something more than competent histories, more even than corrective, vindicationist texts. *Black Jacks* is a well-written, impressively documented, handsomely produced book that certainly does offer a convincing corrective; a book that should appeal to undergraduate and non-academic readers as well as to specialists. What I am pressing, however, is our critical responsibility as scholars to chop away more determinedly at the contingent categories of social identity that continue to entangle our societies.

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Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795. WIM KLOOSTER. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998. xiv + 283 pp. (Paper NLG 50.00)

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Based upon his 1995 Ph.D. thesis at the University of Leiden, Wim Klooster has presented a detailed study of the politics and economics of the illicit Dutch trade in the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The work is based upon thorough research in primary sources and an excellent knowledge of the relevant secondary materials. Archival sources in the Netherlands and Spain provide the basic core of the book, while the 30 pages of bibliography include titles in several different languages. There are 24 tables, 15 illustrations (including several maps), and a short glossary of Spanish-language terms.

While Klooster's professed aim is to correct what he sees as a misinterpretation of the relative importance to the Dutch of the West Indies compared to their East Indies colonies, the depth of detail and the descriptions of the interactions of the Dutch, principally with the Spanish, but also with the French and the British, make this a quite rich scholarly work. The descriptions of political interactions of Spain and the Netherlands make this a contribution to Spanish as well as Dutch history. The examinations of Dutch smuggling, Spain's fight against illicit trade, and the moves taken by the Dutch in defense of their trade, are most interesting in showing exactly how these things were done and how they influenced trading patterns. In addition, there are some interesting issues raised outside the time period given in the subtitle (1648-1795) and the central topic of illicit trade. Chapter 1, for example, provides a discussion of several centuries of changing Dutch trading patterns. The initial year of the subtitle was the year of the short-lived peace of Münster between Spain and the United Provinces, but the examination of the earlier backgrounds, including the Dutch gain and loss of Brazil, are dealt with. And the terminal year, 1795, is the year both when France invaded the Netherlands, and when England was able to stop all trade from Curaçao, prior to its conquest of that island. Curaçao had been the leading Dutch trading

center, but the decline of its trade following the ending of the importance of the other main Dutch entrepôt, St. Eustatius, meant an end to the importance of the Dutch as a trading power, more than one century-and-a-half after that end had been sought by the British and French mercantilist regulations.

The concentration on the Dutch in the illegal trade, carrying goods from the Spanish as well as the other Caribbean powers, means that little attention is given to the principal Dutch sugar producing colony, Suriname. This distinction between producing and trading does raise a question concerning Klooster's addition of trading and production to demonstrate a great importance of the Dutch West Indies colonies relative to those in the East Indies. For in the case of production all the value is attributed to Dutch-owned factors of production, and the value traded in equivalent to all factor inputs. In traded goods the value-added is only the margin on acquisition costs, and total value does not indicate what factors have been used by the Dutch in the colonies. While from the consumers' view expenditures are expenditures, and Klooster's point is appropriate, to measure the relative importance of different colonial empires, the other measure, distinguishing value-added from gross output, has merit.

While *Illicit Riches* is not a very long book, it is an important contribution not only to the history of the Netherlands but to the history of the other Caribbean powers as well as to the study of settlement of the Americas.

Este inmenso comercio: Las relaciones mercantiles entre Puerto Rico y Gran Bretaña 1844-1898. EMMA AURORA DÁVILA COX. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1996. xxi + 364 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.95)

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Social and economic history, particularly microhistorical studies, have dominated the historiography on Puerto Rico's nineteenth century over the past two decades. As important and rich as that historiographical body is, it has produced a checkered picture of the island's past – insularly focused and including few attempts to link or compare Puerto Rico to the outside world with which it was intimately tied economically, politically,

demographically, and culturally. *Este inmenso comercio* is an attempt to integrate Puerto Rico's history into its broader global context by systematically studying the island's nineteenth-century commercial links with Great Britain, its third most important trading partner behind Spain and the United States.

Dávila Cox covers a variety of topics that are directly or indirectly related to the Puerto Rico-Great Britain trade, a trade that she argues was significant but remains understudied. She provides useful serial data on Puerto Rico's exports and imports to and from British and other ports, and discusses topics such as the island's currency history and the trajectory of its tariff system and maritime infrastructure. Attention is also paid to foreign immigration and the religious rights of foreigners. For the most part, the treatment of these subjects is descriptive rather than analytical.

The text opens vistas on interesting aspects of Puerto Rico's evolving economy and trade. For example, Dávila Cox traces the changing role of St. Thomas as an entrepôt of the Puerto Rico-Britain trade and describes the short-lived cotton boom that Puerto Rico experienced during the U.S. Civil War. These and other topics could and should have been taken one step further by explaining the political and geopolitical consequences of the shifting commercial links. Also, much more could have been accomplished by seeking to bridge the macro level of the import and export trade with the micro level of retail commerce and consumption. Attention to advertising practices, for example, can shed interesting light on the forces affecting the patterns of trade and consumption.

Este inmenso comercio is the first book-length study that systematically uses the voluminous documentation produced by British consular representatives stationed in Puerto Rico. It also rests on an extensive use of the *British Parliamentary Papers*. A more complete picture could have been achieved, however, if Dávila Cox had consulted the published dispatches of the U.S. consuls in Puerto Rico. Archival material from Puerto Rico, especially from the Archivo Histórico in Ponce, would also have allowed her to produce a more nuanced and more richly textured picture of the island's trade and related matters. Furthermore, the book exhibits some serious lacunae as far as secondary works are concerned, particularly in its attempts to compare Puerto Rico with Cuba.

Toward the end of the text Dávila Cox makes an effort to establish connections between Puerto Rico's commercial links and the island's invasion by the United States in 1898. On the eve of the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico only a small percentage of the island's exports headed toward the United States. "The U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico," she writes, "can not be explained as a natural political consequence of the island's economic reality" (p. 351). Although an analysis of the war of 1898 requires attention to many factors beyond economic links (the geopolitical, for example), one

can also view the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico precisely as an attempt to reverse the trend of declining commercial ties between Puerto Rico and the United States. These circumstances help explain why the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico continued beyond 1902, when Cuba became independent. While in Cuba a long-standing neocolonial relation with the United States prevailed, in Puerto Rico it became necessary to disarm a neocolonial, European-oriented order based on coffee, so that a new one could be built on the basis of sugar for the insatiable United States market.

In sum, *Este inmenso comercio* is a useful reference book with interesting information and data on trade, currency, tariffs, and immigration. Although it offers little new as far as interpretations, its incorporation of previously unused British sources and its efforts to link Puerto Rico to the outside world should stimulate and aid further studies.

Puerto Rico y la lucha por la hegemonía en el Caribe: Colonialismo y contrabando, siglos XVI-XVIII. ARTURO MORALES CARRIÓN. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico y Centro de Investigaciones Históricas, 1995. ix + 244 pp. (Cloth US\$ 14.95)

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It is very strange to be reviewing a book that was originally published in 1952. What can a reviewer add to the comments that Puerto Rican and Caribbean scholars have provided over the past forty-some years regarding *Puerto Rico and the Non Hispanic Caribbean*? The main reason for this review is that the first Spanish edition of the book came out in 1995. Therefore, I want first to consider why one of the few books dealing with Puerto Rico's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century history took forty-three years to be translated into Spanish.

Morales Carrión's book is a version of the doctoral dissertation he defended at Columbia University in 1950. It was published quickly by the University of Puerto Rico Press, not only because of its obvious academic merits, but also because at the time Morales Carrión was an influential intellectual and part of the inner circle of Governor Luis Muñoz Marín and University Chancellor Jaime Benítez. Morales Carrión's administrative career (as Chairman of the History Department, Director of the Centro de Investigaciones Históricas, President of the University of Puerto Rico,

Under-Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs during the Kennedy Administration, and Director of the Puerto Rican Humanities Council) obviously gave him access to the resources needed to translate the book into Spanish. In the book's third edition, the author tells us that while he intended to revise the manuscript, time constraints prevented him from doing so (Morales Carrión 1974). But lack of time – and Morales Carrión was clearly a busy man – cannot be the sole explanation as to why no translation was made.

The book did not get translated into Spanish because originally it was not intended for wide Puerto Rican readership. The introduction provides a brief definition of the Caribbean region: "The Antillean area is a complex social mosaic, criss-crossed by the most diverse ethnic and cultural strains. It is, historically, the product of an intense struggle for power between the maritime states, in which each island and key was bitterly contested and stubbornly held. No community was able to develop in placid isolation" (Morales Carrión 1974:xi). The author is making a case for Puerto Rico's importance and connection to the Caribbean, a factor often neglected in the usually metropolitan- or linguistically-defined Antillean scholarship. Again, the introduction provides a clue of the book's primary audience: "But to students of the West Indian area, there are reasons of a higher import in justifying the selection of a Puerto Rican subject" (Morales Carrión 1974:xi).

The context of the period when Morales Carrión wrote the book is very important. This book on British, Spanish, French, and to some extent, U.S. influence and colonialism in the Caribbean region was researched and written at about the same time that British hegemony in the region was being undermined, militarization due to World War II and to U.S. interests was rampant, France was about to incorporate Martinique and Guadeloupe as overseas departments, and Puerto Rico was fine-tuning its colonial relationship with the United States. Morales Carrión's writing was also influenced by the Pan-Caribbean efforts – the Anglo-American Commission (1943-46) and the Caribbean Commission (1948-55) – led by Washington to provide political, economic, and social solutions to the problems affecting the area. As someone particularly concerned about Puerto Rico's future relationship with the United States, Morales Carrión understood that showcasing the historical and contemporary ties in the Antillean region would be beneficial to Puerto Rico's political development.

Morales Carrión belonged to Puerto Rico's first generation of professional historians. It helps us to understand why he was so concerned with producing scholarship that was relevant to, and in dialogue with, the developing "field" of Latin American and Caribbean Studies. Having done graduate work at the University of Texas-Austin and at Columbia under Frank Tannenbaum, he wrote for the field of Caribbean/Latin

American specialists in a way no Puerto Rican scholar ever had. Most of the other important professionally trained historians of his generation, such as Luis Díaz Soler (University of Louisiana), Aida Caro Costas (University of Texas-Austin and Universidad Central de Madrid), or Isabel Gutiérrez del Arroyo (Colegio de México), wrote for a Puerto Rican audience even if they made and maintained professional relations in Spain, Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and the United States during their careers.

Almost fifty years after its publication, *Puerto Rico and the Non Hispanic Caribbean* still offers a fresh insight into the interdependence of the Caribbean region and the role of metropolitan politics in local events. In the Puerto Rican case, neither the book's focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, nor its attempt to place the island in a wider pan-Caribbean context have generated other monographs that build upon or reject Morales Carrión's thesis. Hopefully, the publication of this Spanish edition will help bring more attention to a book that is a very important text for Caribbean and Puerto Rican historians.

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Slave Trades, 1500-1800: Globalization of Forced Labour. PATRICK MANNING (ed.). Hampshire, U.K.: Variorum, 1996. xxxiv + 361 pp. (Cloth US\$ 115.95)

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The Atlantic slave trade has now become a major field of research in its own right. Over a dozen conference volumes, numerous books, well over a hundred articles, and even a CD-Rom have appeared in the thirty years since Philip Curtin published his seminal work on the trade. Selecting

which articles to put together in a reader is therefore a difficult task and will depend on the orientation and interests of the editor. Patrick Manning is a leading historian of the impact of the trade on Africa itself and thus his volume reflects African centered issues more than American ones, and general patterns more than specific aspects of the trade. The articles are grouped into four sections: "Overviews," "Fifteenth to 17th Centuries," "Eighteenth Century Atlantic Trade in Humans," and "Effects of the Slave Trade." The strange exclusion of the nineteenth-century trade is never explained or justified by either the volume editor or the series editor, which is a very surprising omission given the title's reference to the "globalization of forced labour."

Manning suggests that the essays he selected "present major recent contributions to the literature by addressing the key issues in analyses of the slave trade, and the main flows of slaves" (p. xxvii). Unfortunately, this is not what his rather strange selection of articles does in most cases. The various essays are not without interest and scholars in the field will be grateful to have many of these older works reprinted and made available in one single volume. But there exist several essays of more interest or relevance on a given subject that might have been included and their omission makes for a somewhat outdated volume. Moreover, no essays have been translated from foreign languages into English, though strangely one is included in the original French, which means that this collection excludes an enormous amount of recent research.

The strangest omission is that not a single article by David Eltis or Stanley Engerman is included. These scholars, together or alone, have written numerous seminal studies, covering the trade and forced migration in terms of everything from the details of age/sex and volume of the migration, to overviews of the impact of the trade on the world economy. Few of these well-known essays are even cited in the editor's rather deficient bibliography. But this is not the only exclusion of what might be expected in this type of volume. We are given an essay by Richard Rathbone on internal African resistance, but nothing from the vast African historical literature on the internal workings of the slave trade within African society (by Philip Curtin, David Northrup, or Robin Law, to name just a few). Nor do we have any essays by economists or anthropologists who have done research on the trade's impact on Africa. Some aspect of the work of Barry Higman and Jack Eblen on the impact of the trade on American slave populations would have been useful if demography was to be fully explored – a theme highlighted in the bibliography. To include only Steven Deyle on the slave traders, without anything by Johannes Postma, David Galenson, Roger Anstey, Robert L. Stein, or Colin Palmer, is a strange decision, giving readers the trading details of only one trade, and one of the least important ones at that. On Brazil, Joseph Miller, John M.

Monteiro, and Luiz Felipe de Alencastro are represented, but none of the seminal essays by Stuart Schwartz are in. Ann Pescatello is the only selection from the non-Brazilian Portuguese world; there is nothing by William Gervase Clarence-Smith or A.C. Saunders. If the editor wanted to include some serious scholarship in languages other than English, the one poorly written and very abbreviated article in French on the Pacific French trade does not serve as much of an introduction. Why was there nothing in the original language by such scholars as Charles Becker, Gabriel Debien, Serge Daget, Pierre Verger, or Arlette Gautier, to mention only a few.

Even in the selections we do have, there are some problems. While it is useful to have the old classic essays on the numbers by Paul Lovejoy, and Ralph Austen, these have been updated in recent years. Austen has added to his non-Atlantic slave trade studies with newer materials, and Lovejoy's calculations have been revised by David Eltis and his co-authors in the Cambridge University Press voyage project in a number of essays. On the other hand the essay by Ronald C. Jennings on blacks in Ottoman Cyprus, a discovery for me, was outstanding. And the essays by David Richardson, on British economic growth, and Seymour Drescher, on abolition, remain important works well worth reproducing.

Thus the reader will find this collection interesting and useful in parts, but dated in its selection of authors, and rather biased in its strange exclusion of well-known works. Reflecting its dated nature are the editor's own introductory essay and bibliography, which take some rather controversial positions in terms of strangely defined minimalist and maximalist interpretations of the slave trade, and exclude much recent bibliography, especially on the demography of the trade – a theme which he himself highlights.

The Critical Tradition of Caribbean Political Economy: The Legacy of George Beckford. KARI LEVITT & MICHAEL WITTER (eds.) Kingston: Ian Randle, 1996. xxvi + 288. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

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In her preface to this collection honoring the late George Beckford, Kari Polanyi Levitt writes that today few students in the region know that "twenty five years ago, the University of the West Indies was a vibrant

center of intellectual ferment." She goes on, "the radical synergy within the University, which gave rise to the New World movement and the plantation economy paradigm in the late 1960s and early 1970s was a Caribbean wide regional intellectual initiative" (p. xii). At the center of this ferment was George Beckford. And so this collection in his honor is as it should be: fifteen essays (and a poem by Kamau Brathwaite) written from the political left concerned with Beckford's preoccupation, the ability of the people of the region "to control the environment in which they live and to manipulate that environment in any way they desire" (p. 29). Though mostly focused on the economics of development, this book contains, in addition, four historical contributions concerning the struggles of the region's workers and peasants and one dealing with the relationship between language and empowerment.

Norman Girvan's paper argues that "Beckfordian political economy ... can be seen to trace an evolution through agricultural economics, institutional economics, dependency/historical structuralism, and Third World Marxism" (p. 29). This trajectory roughly corresponds to what happened to the intellectual left in the region, with the fresh thinking of the New World Group gradually giving way to Marxism-Leninism. The latter, in turn, became influential during the 1970s and early 1980s, most dramatically in Grenada and Guyana and to a lesser extent in Jamaica. The most prominent left intellectual hold-out to the trend was Lloyd Best. He has long been critical of both Leninist governing principles and the recommendations of the New World Group to delink from the international economy and sharply increase government enterprise. In his contribution to this collection, Best writes that "the more faithfully the strategies deriving from these two visions have been followed, the more disastrous have been the consequences for the common people" (p. 4). But the problem is that Best himself continues to be unable to articulate a clear alternative to these staples of left thinking. He concedes as much. Concerning what he calls epistemology (how people learn that they are victims) and political mobilization, he acknowledges that "we do not know the answer to either of these questions. The only lesson you can learn from history is that there is no lesson you can learn from history" (p. 9).

Six of the contributions to this volume were originally presented as Beckford Memorial Lectures at the University of the West Indies. Two of them, those of Gerald Meier and Havelock Brewster, are grouped together – perhaps because Brewster's presentation, which followed Meier's by one year, sounds very much like a rebuttal to the latter's neo-liberalism. Meier, while formally affirming the significance of Beckford's work, nevertheless endorses policies which Beckford certainly would have found anathema. Meier writes in opposition to minimum wage laws, to making the dismissal of workers costly to employers, to high payroll taxes, and to

long and costly bargaining processes. He counsels that "government must not be influenced by special interests," which in this context is a reference to unionized labor (p. 166). Brewster offers, in implicit rebuttal, a more realistic assessment of the class basis of policy-making. He writes that in developing countries today the interests of the poor are a low priority because what governing elites really care about is "how to optimize the benefits of the overprivileged few while securing a mandate to govern from the underprivileged many" (p. 180). In this way Meier's innocent disregard of class power is dismissed.

Since the demise of the Manley government, the implosion of the Grenada Revolution and the economic collapse associated with Burnhamite socialism in Guyana, the region-wide left has gone into a deep slump. That decline has provided the opportunity for some badly needed rethinking. Some of that is in evidence here. For example, Clive Thomas discusses what he calls "state failure," a kind of analogue to market failure (p. 233). The politicization of the operation of state industries and loose financial controls over state firms, writes Thomas, caused the debts which required even unwilling regimes to turn to the IMF. Unfortunately, he offers no real theory of why state failure occurs and no prescription for avoiding this malady. Left rethinking seems also to be present when Witter writes that in developing organizational forms of production, it is important to "take account of the individualism, the resistance to authority in the work place and consciousness of the exploitation of the wage labour relation" (p. 197). Again, however, Witter does not satisfactorily resolve the problems he identifies.

This is a time of stock-taking for the region's left. Many of the authors present in this collection followed Beckford's lead and attempted to link their scholarship with political engagement. This book affirms their continued commitment to egalitarian values, but at the same time provides evidence that the process of rethinking and reconceptualization still has a long way to go.

The Political Economy of Food and Agriculture in the Caribbean.
BELAL AHMED & SULTANA AFROZ. Kingston: Ian Randle; London: James
Currey, 1996. xxi + 276 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

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Through discussions of the influence and involvement of multinational corporations in Caribbean economies, this book argues that reliance on export crops creates a regional dependency on imported food. It concludes that the long-term economic stability of the region requires pursuing sustainable agriculture of food crops.

The book's strength is its discussion of specific corporations and agencies and their activities in the region. Often through case studies focusing on specific nations, the book explores the attempts to manage and boost production of sugar, cocoa, coffee, bananas, citrus, rice, and livestock. In doing so, it outlines the differing roles of corporations, government initiatives, regional agencies such as WINBAN, and external agencies such as USAID and the IMF.

The book focuses mostly on cash crops, but for a study concerned with food production, it contains oversights and over-generalizations in its treatment of regionally consumed food crops. Its emphasis on cash crops and plantations overlooks the reality that much of the food production for consumption within the region takes place on the margins of the plantation system. In addition, it claims that the indigenous population of the Caribbean was destroyed and, consequently, made no contribution to the production of food in the region. Since the book includes in its scope Guyana, a nation with a large indigenous population, this contention is false. More importantly, however, is that this claim leads to the neglect of food production crops and techniques which are indigenous in origin. Small-scale farming of food relies heavily on crops originally cultivated by the indigenous population such as cassava (manioc), peppers, and corn. Since indigenous horticulture was a sustainable form of food production for several thousand years before the arrival of the Europeans, and since it still influences food production throughout the region, it is disappointing that the book neglects a close examination of it.

The book's recommendations for the introduction of new food crops seems to be an outcome of this neglect. It suggests that cereal crops and potatoes are the remedies for the region's food woes. With a few exceptions such as rice, cereal crops are temperate climate crops, and potatoes

are temperate climate or highland tubers. Unless the authors have in mind hybrids, which can be expensive to develop and maintain, these recommendations seem strange in light of already existing sources of starch in the region. Indeed, the emphasis on non-tropical sources of starch above tropical crops such as breadfruit, yams, sweet potatoes, taros, and cassava seems to indicate an ongoing hegemony of European and North American crops and tastes rather than an exploration of viable Caribbean alternatives.

The book also contains some glaring contradictions. For instance, it states that much of the uncultivated land in the region is in the hands of the government, and that the government should examine their stewardship of such land to encourage using it for agricultural production. Yet much of this land is forested, and the authors also suggest that the ecological degradation of forest areas is a major regional problem. In another contradiction, the authors blame some of the region's problems on the "psychology of slavery" (pp. 26-32) that they claim afflicts contemporary West Indians. Yet their evidence strongly suggests that the ongoing exploitation of the region by external interests, and not some psychological legacy of slavery, has created the present economic problems.

A book on food and agriculture in the Caribbean is needed to complement the large literature on the export cash crops of the region. An understanding of the political economy of small farming of food would be helpful. In many ways, though, this book does not move beyond, and often does not even make reference to, many of the previous publications that identify regional self-sufficiency in food production as an important goal and recommend small-scale farming as a means to obtain that goal. This literature is large, and the neglect of major contributions such as the 1945 Moyne Commission report (West India Royal Commission) and the work of George Beckford is glaring.

While the book has its merits, it left me hoping that someday a close examination of the political economy of food crops currently produced for local consumption will be undertaken, rather than the recurring examination of how export crops do not result in sustainable production of food.

The Urban Caribbean: Transition to the New Global Economy.
ALEJANDRO PORTES, CARLOS DORE-CABRAL & PATRICIA LANDOLT (eds.).
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. xvii + 260 pp. (Cloth
US\$ 48.50, Paper US\$ 17.95)

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This book is the write-up of a collaborative study of the urban Caribbean Basin. In the early 1990s, the international research team conducted investigations in five different countries – Costa Rica, Haiti, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica – with the double goal of examining low to modest income urbanites' perceptions about changes in city life and political participation and documenting informal economic activities and their future prospects. The researchers selected countries that varied along many vectors such as the activism of the state, but which had all restructured their national economies away from substitution models to models based on neoliberal ideas emphasizing lowered tariffs and state control as well as increased export orientation. The team employed an innovative methodology identified as a "small-numbers (small N)" comparative design, in which the same topics are examined in detail in a limited number of settings, and then contrasted systematically (p. 9). Two interrelated phases of research were implemented in each country's fieldsite(s). First, investigators spent a year examining existing macrosocial data on city systems, spatial distribution of social classes, and employment patterns. Second, they examined a number of demographic characteristics and sociopolitical attitudes among household heads in probability surveys of certain neighborhoods. The attitudes investigated included people's views on changes in their cities, knowledge of urban authorities, participation in political parties and community organizations, assignment of blame for poverty, and several others. During this phase, investigators also identified one or two types of informal entrepreneurial firms, a small number of which were researched in depth. This study of "popular entrepreneurship" serves to question earlier findings on the informal economy, most specifically aspects of the debate over whether informal economic activities represent survival strategies among marginalized urbanites or an innovative solution for urban unemployment in Latin America.

The book is essentially divided into two parts. Several early chapters and the conclusion focus on comparative issues and results while the middle five chapters discuss individual country results. Chapter 1

research questions, devotes several important pages to the team's methodologies, and offers an extensive discussion of the advantages and pitfalls of operationalizing such collaborative and multi-sited research. The second chapter begins with background and theory on Latin American urbanization before shifting to the region's economic restructuring toward export production. It then provides a useful five-country comparison of similarities and differences in economies, "urban primacy" (condition of the largest city comprising the bulk of the country's population), urban growth and spatial distribution of classes, and labor market and informal economy variables. The chapter concludes with the admonition that Latin American cities cannot be understood well by applying orthodox neoclassical or world systems theories; rather, what is needed is sensitivity to both global and specific national processes (p. 48).

The chapters dedicated to each country follow a similar outline, though they are by no means boilerplate. Each begins with the specific history and urbanization of the country and primary city and then moves to a discussion of each neighborhood surveyed, its sociodemographic characteristics, and respondents' attitudes toward the urban issues identified above. A weakness of this section is that no two chapters present exactly the same list of issues surveyed; moreover, they frequently display the results inconsistently, making it difficult for the reader to make useful comparisons. For example, when presenting respondents' explanations of poverty, some contributors to the volume provide a list of specific responses such as "bad luck" or "social injustice," while others group the responses into "personal" versus "structural" (or even subdivided into "semistructural") factors. Furthermore, respondents themselves are rarely divided into consistent categories such as age, education, and place of origin. This shackles the reader significantly, a problem only partly remedied in the last chapter which offers true comparisons but only for a subset of the survey questions.

Each country chapter also includes a section on informal microenterprises, the type of which varies from place to place – from shoemakers to garment subcontractors to jewelry makers. Here, each investigation seeks to determine whether the informal activity is simply a subsistence strategy or has the capacity for linkage to firms in the formal sector or the means to develop technological absorption and capital accumulation that would signify a true vehicle for development. The various authors find a high degree of heterogeneity within the informal sector but paint a dreary portrait of its development potential. They found that informal enterprises are subordinate to the formal sector; and offer only one example of a dynamic enterprise – namely, the production of a certain product for export to Jamaican migrant communities in other countries. This finding informs the book's criticism of Caribbean governments' and international agen-

cies' new development mantra: funding microenterprises with small loans. Small-scale businesses thrive, these authors argue, primarily because of the "comparative advantage offered by [their] cheap labor" (p. 246). Promoting them will do little to pull the majority out of poverty.

The book's conclusion also seriously questions the "new social actors" approach to political participation among poorer urbanites in the Caribbean Basin. This theory holds that as people disdain formal political parties, they find empowerment in the grassroots. Contrarily, by comparing respondents' attitudes from the five countries, researchers concluded that there is a significant gap between support for grassroots organizations (high) and the belief that these organizations can initiate change (low). Moreover, the theory's generalizability falters as researchers found that differences in national political systems outweigh individual-level influences on political participation. "This result suggests that what ultimately matters is the durability and character of the political space opened by the dominant system for popular participation" (p. 246).

This book's strengths are derived principally from the research proposal (questions, theory, and methods), while its weaknesses lie in the presentation of the results. Avoidable inconsistencies plague the latter and are only partially remedied in the conclusion. For a book subtitled "Transition to the New Global Economy," I would also have enjoyed seeing more space devoted to macro-structural issues such as relationships to international lenders and even the significance of transnational migration (especially since four of the five countries studied supply hundreds of thousands of migrants to the United States). Despite these minor quibbles, the book is a highly accessible and innovative treatment of a region and a set of relevant theories.

The Politics of Labour and Development in Trinidad. RAY KIELY. Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago: The Press University of the West Indies, 1996. iii + 218 pp. (Paper J\$ 450.00)

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This book examines how "historically constructed social divisions have militated against the successful development of a united working class and /or socialist party" (p. 1) in Trinidad and Tobago between 1937 and the

early 1990s. The politics of labor in Trinidad and Tobago is unusual because the major trade unions played a political role but failed to create a political party, while the chief political party, the People's National Movement (PNM), is not based on a trade union.

Kiely begins by critically evaluating several sociological approaches to the study of labor and development in the Caribbean, including modernization theory, the theory of the plantation economy, dependency theory, world systems theory, and M.G. Smith's plural society theory, which argues that conflict between culturally defined segments is central to Caribbean societies. He concludes that "class is a central category for any analysis of labour and development, but it should not necessarily be given a primacy that would lead to a neglect of ethnicity and gender" (p. 27). "Social classes" and "ethnic groups," like genders, are interrelated codes of social difference that create, reflect, and contest changing social inequalities and, in so doing, are closely linked to developments in the organization of labor. In the culturally pluralistic society of Trinidad and Tobago the changing relations of capital and labor in the last two centuries are intimately linked to the social construction of "race" and gender. Kiely advocates a theory of uneven development, taking account of the relationship between the advanced centers of capitalism and the peripheries, and argues that labor, analyzed in terms of class, "race," and gender, is "the key factor" (p. 41) in explaining development. The changing politics of labor, therefore, constitute the core of the different stages of social development, from resistance to slavery and indenture, to trade unionism and party politics.

Kiely summarizes the history of labor in Trinidad, from the comparatively late establishment of plantations based upon slavery, through the system of indentured labor and the development of a peasantry following emancipation in 1838, to the establishment of the oil industry and the emergence of trade unionism in the early twentieth century. The formation of social classes, associated initially with the production of sugar and cocoa but later in urban occupations and the oil industry, was inseparable from a process of racialization in which "Africans," "East Indians," and "whites" were differentiated as social groups. Kiely correctly insists that "the impact of racism on dividing the labour force should not be underestimated ... but at the same time the historical roots of racism must be explained, rather than described (as is the case in the plural society model), in terms of a timeless cultural group conflict" (p. 53). Working-class culture and resistance was developing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a period when "race relations" in colonial Trinidad were extremely complex.

In 1937 working people of all kinds – African and East Indian, native-born and immigrant, women and men, rural and urban, sugar workers and

oilfield workers – exploded in rebellion. Their new organizations, led by such people as Tubal Uriah Butler, Elma François, and Adrian Cola Rienzi, established the modern political agenda. However, the labor movement was so fragmented in 1946, when the first elections based on universal suffrage were held, that the way was left open for the rise of middle-class politicians, first Albert Gomes and then Eric Williams. The international context of the Cold War and the dominant development strategy of “industrialization by invitation” were more important than Kiely allows because they left no room for the emergence of a socialist labor movement. Trade unions had to be “responsible,” which meant limited to moderate and apolitical demands within the existing capitalist system so as not to frighten away potential investors. Kiely could have made this clearer had he paid more attention to what was happening elsewhere in the early 1950s: the purge of the left-wing of Jamaica’s People’s National Party, the destruction of the Caribbean Labour Congress, and the counter-revolution against the People’s Progressive Party government in British Guiana (Bolland 1997).

By the 1956 elections, labor issues were suppressed and “race” became increasingly politicized between Williams’s PNM and Bhadase Maraj’s People’s Democratic Party (PDP). The triumphant Williams became particularly concerned in the 1960s that a “climate of labour unrest was discouraging foreign investment” (p. 98), so he pushed through the Industrial Stabilization Act (ISA) in 1965 in order to depoliticize labor and protect his development strategy. However, as Kiely points out, the reliance upon capitalist industrialization increased unemployment and the “informal sector,” resulting in the wave of opposition that included the “Black Power Revolt” of 1970 and formation of the United Labour Front (ULF), an alliance of progressive trade unions that won ten seats in the 1976 general election. The attempt to create a socialist labor party failed, however, when the ULF split in 1977, leaving the working class “ill-prepared for the recession in the 1980s” (p. 151); the country suffered negative growth rates every year from 1982 to 1989 and unemployment doubled. A coalition National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) government from 1986 to 1988 was committed to the private sector, and public sector unions, in particular, lost thousands of members.

Finally, Kiely analyzes the origins of a new movement toward labor unity in 1989, leading to a new national Trade Union Council in 1991. However, racial politics and labor politics remain intertwined and at odds: on the one hand, Basdeo Panday’s United National Congress (UNC) is still a largely East Indian party and the PNM remains a largely African party, while, on the other hand, the Movement for Social Transformation (MOTION) tends to dismiss racism as an epiphenomenon of capitalism. While government economic policies, following global trends, widen

economic and social inequalities, the attempt of trade unions to join other organizations, including feminist groups and religious and cultural organizations, in a new "social movement unionism" has not, to date, overcome the racialized politics that still characterizes the major parties. Kiely concludes, soberly, that "uneven development and racialization have meant that the working class has rarely acted as a homogenous force" (p. 172). This has transpired not only because political leaders have racialized party politics but also because labor leaders have not taken "full account of the diversity of experiences of working class people" (p. 173). Kiely's thoughtful study helps us understand the complex dynamics of the politics of labor – and the racialization of politics – in relation to changing patterns of economic development.

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West Indian Workers and the United Fruit Company in Costa Rica, 1870-1940. AVIVA CHOMSKY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996. xiii + 302 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.50)

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Aviva Chomsky provides a synthetic and objective study of West Indian banana workers on United Fruit Company plantations in Costa Rica from 1870 to 1940. This is a well-written social history of labor relations on Costa Rica's Atlantic coast; its theoretical perspective underscores the workers' role as "active agents in making their own history" (p. 209). The book begins with the birth of the Costa Rican banana industry in the 1870s. Subsequent chapters take the reader through the important 1934 strike to the brink of the 1948 war, with pauses to examine the genesis of the 1910 strike, company health policies, and West Indian social organizations in Limón. While there have been many studies of the United Fruit Company, many of them have been overtly partisan, and some of the

earlier accounts were authored by Company apologists. Chomsky is generally sympathetic to the plantation workers, trusting that they acted responsibly to promote their health, economic well-being, and religious-cultural values.

It was a good idea to study the United Fruit Company from the point of view of its workers. Ethnographer Philippe Bourgois had success with this strategy, because he could talk to the workers and elicit their stories and opinions. But historians haven't tried it, perhaps because the historical record contains precious little documentation of workers' points of view (as Chomsky points out in the conclusion of her book). The lack of available documentation means that the evidence for certain of Chomsky's arguments is skimpy and much must be inferred. Some of her inferences are drawn from literature on emancipation societies elsewhere in the Caribbean. In a section on the role of African medical traditions, for example, she does not provide sufficient evidence to persuade readers that "black healers played the same type of dual role [on United Fruit plantations] they played on the slave plantation" (p. 139). There are numerous similar examples throughout the book.

Health data can be an important reflection of social well-being, and Chomsky is one of very few scholars to make use of the rich data reported by the United Fruit Medical Department. She provides a real service by compiling and graphing morbidity and mortality data, tabulated (when possible) by diagnosis and race, to argue that United Fruit gave higher priority to malaria control (which disproportionately affected North American managerial employees) than to the respiratory illnesses that killed more workers. Chomsky argues that the Company emphasized individual, hospital-based curative care over public health. This interpretation is plausible but overly narrow, in part because she relies on hospital and clinic records (themselves of dubious reliability) rather than putting United Fruit's medical policies into a larger historical context. A more holistic ecological and biocultural approach might begin not by looking at hospital-based services, but by examining the medical controversies and public health ideologies prevalent at the time. United Fruit's medical men were indeed eager to establish the Company's reputation as a leader in the age of "scientific medicine." This required them to assert biomedical control over the lives and health of individuals, including the public (which had to be coerced to comply with sanitation regimens), patients (who had to be isolated in hospitals under the care of physicians), and healers (who had to be properly educated and licensed). United Fruit doctors were primarily concerned with labor productivity, as Chomsky points out, but they were also concerned with being "modern," which meant they needed to build hospitals, devise public health surveillance techniques, and provide curative care. Chomsky largely

ignores United Fruit's efforts to create a more salubrious environment by draining swamps (hence controlling mosquitoes) and constructing housing.

In evaluating the health risks and disease profiles of the population, Chomsky mentions that tropical medicine specialists were aware of an apparent difference in race-based susceptibility to disease. "Racial pathology" – in conjunction with the popularity of eugenics – was one of the major medical questions of the era, and tropical medicine experts such as those employed by United Fruit were in a unique position to contribute to the controversy. Rather than explicate or untangle these claims, however, Chomsky takes a tentative stance on the biological evidence of black resistance to tropical disease (see p. 112). For example, she does not even mention the effect that the sickle cell trait (carried by persons of central African descent) had on susceptibility to malaria (see p. 112). This important historical and biocultural controversy remains uninterrogated, and a definitive history of United Fruit's medical policies remains to be written.

The temptation to stretch the available evidence surfaces again in the chapters on health. During these years, United Fruit had operations in areas as ecologically and medically diverse as Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Yet the published medical department reports often do not specify which country or region they were referring to. Chomsky faced the same problem, yet she sometimes fudges this issue by illustrating arguments about Costa Rica with data from Guatemala (e.g., p. 123 on the link between pneumonia and malnutrition or p. 125, where speculation about the diet of Costa Rican laborers is illustrated with data from Honduras).

Chomsky argues that West Indian laborers would have had their own ideas about the causes and treatment of disease. As a medical anthropologist I would be inclined to agree (and to note that the same was true of banana workers from rural Costa Rica), but in the absence of much convincing evidence her argument tends to romanticize and mystify the influence of "culture" without providing insight into why West Indian traditions would prevail in one instance and not in another. With respect to the use of infant formula, for example, Chomsky suggests that Company policy would have encouraged many West Indian women to give up breastfeeding in favor of feeding formula to their infants (p. 127). But she argues that when workers were encouraged to ingest quinine to ward off malaria, they would have resisted. She suggests (pp. 128-29) that anemic patients appreciated the nutritive value of tonic pills supplemented with iron; why, then, didn't mothers notice the deleterious effects of infant formula? Why assume – based on only circumstantial evidence – that workers would capitulate to Company policy in one instance and resist in another?

Chomsky offers new and interesting documentation of the 1910 strike and the social rifts it exemplified. This, along with her review of the intersections between communism, racism, and Liberacionismo (the emerging anti-communist, anti-imperialist, reformist party that emerged during the 1940s), is an important contribution to Costa Rican historiography. Her account of the 1910 strike is welcome for its attempts to meld cultural and religious history with the history of labor unions and dissent. She shows how two Jamaican strike organizers (Charles G. Ferguson and J. Washington Sterling) were later expelled from the country, partly because of accusations that they were connected with *obeah* (an African-based religious tradition). Chomsky admits that the written record contains no evidence of religious revivalism prior to these accusations (p. 190), yet she takes the accusations at face value, concluding that faith in *obeah* was widespread among West Indian workers and could have had an important effect on their willingness to resist the Company (p. 194). I would have been more skeptical of basing such a sweeping conclusion on the strength of accusers' testimony, considering that a common prosecutorial strategy is to accuse one's enemies of consorting with the devil.

Chomsky's book has already won an award from the North East Council of Latin American Studies. It is a welcome addition to Costa Rican historiography in spite of its flaws, because it considers the importance of local agency and activism in making history, and because it synthesizes so much of the available literature on labor relations on the Atlantic coast of Central America as well as in the Caribbean. One hopes that a Spanish edition of the book will be published, so that Spanish-speaking scholars may also read Chomsky's provocative and refreshing interpretations of this history.

Genero y trabajo: La industria de la aguja en Puerto Rico y el Caribe hispánico. MARIA DEL CARMEN BAERGA (ed.). San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1993. xxvi + 321 pp. (Paper US\$ 11.95)

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This is a very valuable edited anthology, both for Spanish-speaking Caribbean historiography, and for those interested in gender, colonialism, and labor. Its focus, the place of women and gender in clothing pro-

duction, is also an important issue for our times, when corporations like Nike and Levi's continue to exploit women and child labor around the globe in the name of profits and progress, and sweatshops proliferate in the heart of the most "developed" nations of the world. The collected articles provide a long-overdue comparative historical perspective on the Dominican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican experiences (although the bulk of the essays are on Puerto Rico). They also show that the much-touted globalization of capital and labor patterns has deep historical roots. The authors also move beyond the initial wave of the region's feminist history, which emphasized descriptive documentation of women's lives, to examining how the global economy has been structured by gender, and how it in turn has affected gender relations in local communities, often reproducing the subordination or marginalization of women. The articles are firmly rooted in the material relations of social history and political economy, and are carefully tuned to questions of power differences and exploitation – a welcome respite from the disembodied discourses which often occupy center stage in recent post-colonial analyses.

The best of the essays break important theoretical ground for the Spanish Caribbean. They question the androcentric bias in the assumed meanings of such central historical categories as "capitalism," "skill," "industrial production," and "labor." They perceptively examine the interconnection of domestic and productive labor, and the ways in which their interplay facilitated the beginnings of the Spanish Caribbean's clothing industries and continues to shape them. They also begin to analyze the contradictions often produced by women's proletarianization. Clearly, this is an important volume.

Helen Icken Safa's articles, for example, stake out ambitious ground by explicitly comparing women textile workers' experiences in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. She traces how access (or lack thereof) to the welfare state, unions, and waged work allows women in Puerto Rico more bargaining room vis-à-vis individual men than in the Dominican Republic. She also analyzes contradictory historical processes in all three nations – how state intervention, proletarianization, and mass organizations can simultaneously provide women with new options and perpetuate their subordination in society and the family. In post-revolutionary Cuba, for example, women's massive entrance into the waged labor force has produced great changes in their lives – access to their own income, an identification with workplace as well as family, etc. – but the sexual division of labor in both factory and home remains quite resilient, and ultimately impedes women's full empowerment.

Maria del Carmen Baerga's two essays are the most wide-ranging of the volume, providing valuable assessments of feminist theory and penetrating critiques of the existent Puerto Rican labor history. Baerga explores the

centrality of women's labor, both domestic and income-earning, to the subsistence of the Puerto Rican working classes of the early twentieth century. Women, she shows, have always worked, and their families could not have survived without this labor. Baerga points out that early proletarianization was gendered, since many women in the 1930s earned wages while remaining at home, combining piecework with child care and other reproductive labor. Such income-earning activities did not substantially challenge familial or societal gender power relations, despite their establishment of women as crucial wage-winners – often the only ones in the household. However, women needleworkers were not isolated individuals; they created strong links with neighboring laboring women and developed ties to the burgeoning labor movement. Baerga's analysis exposes the historical dynamism of women workers' actions, and the conflicting meanings and interests created by their relationships with each other, their families, and the men who dominated the early labor movement in Puerto Rico.

Despite these strengths, and many others, the volume does have its shortcomings. The historical formation of masculinity and racial meanings is left largely untouched. Most of the essays focus solely on women's labor, rather narrowly construed. Broader power relations in arenas such as the family, sexuality, trade unions, and workers' residential communities – as well as the ways in which these relationships shape women's experiences of labor – are often thinly explored, if at all. Also, with the exception of María del Carmen Baerga's pieces, the authors' emphasis on economic exploitation and colonial domination implicitly strips women workers of agency. The state, local and foreign capital, managers, and foreign missionaries all are historical actors. Not so working-class women, who are used, acted upon, mobilized by others and sometimes even allegedly fail to have the correct kind of class consciousness. Working women's voices are surprisingly absent, particularly considering that many of the authors based their research on extensive oral interviews. Absent, too, are the multiple meanings that women may have attributed to their labor (there are hints of this in the few quotes from workers, who speak of the "beautiful things" they produced) and the complex fabric of women's daily negotiations of power relations and alliances in family, community, and workplace. Consequently, in most of the essays we are left with the impression that even in Cuba, where Safa argues that working-class women have more options economically, socially, and politically than in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, women have not *made* history, although they, their labor, and the meanings attached to them by others have helped structure it. Despite its shortcomings, however, this volume is a great step forward in both the history and the theory of gender and colonialism in the Spanish Caribbean, a must for all analysts of the region.

Security Problems and Policies in the Post-Cold War Caribbean. JORGE RODRÍGUEZ BERUFF & HUMBERTO GARCÍA MUÑIZ (eds.). London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's, 1996. 249 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95; £ 45.00)

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Security in a complex and heterogeneous region like the Caribbean has never ceased to be a focus of attention both for policy makers and for analysts and researchers. In this regard, many authors have discussed and analyzed the region from different perspectives, particularly in the context of the East-West conflict and at the height of the Cold War after the consolidation of the revolutionary regime in Cuba, the decolonization of the non-Hispanic Caribbean, and the development of the Central American crisis in the 1980s. The end of the Cold War, however, has frequently left scholars without a framework to understand the current dynamics of regional security. Consequently, many of us have tackled the concept of the "post-Cold War" in an attempt to understand the new regional security agenda for external and internal actors, the new emerging threats in the context of the decline of the region's strategic importance, and the need to develop concepts of security broader than the traditional ones, but at the same time more complex and less operationally manageable.

This is in essence the approach suggested by Rodríguez Beruff and García Muñiz both in the introduction to the volume and in its structure. They close their introduction by stating: "Caribbean security problems and politics have appeared more complex and fluid since the waning of the global East-West confrontation. The concept of security itself is elusive and disputed. The editors of this volume conceive security to be related to the creation of conditions for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, the consolidation of democratic practices and institutions, national self-determination, increased international collaboration and regional integration, economic viability and the well-being of regional societies, and political and social stability. From this perspective, military security, however important, is only a subordinate component of security" (p. 11).

This point of view, which I share fully, clashes with a particular epistemological difficulty – which is that most of us social scientists tend to stick easily to pre-established mental schemes and to suffer from inertia in analyzing new situations with already-familiar paradigms and approaches. This may be the reason why the chapter by the editors and those by Michel Louis Martin and Paul Sutton (in the book's first part, entitled

"The Role of the External Powers," which focuses mainly on the United States, France, and Great Britain) all tend to emphasize military security over other considerations from a broader perspective. This approach is especially evident in the chapter by Martin on French strategic interests in the Caribbean. These same chapters also adopt a narrow view of the Caribbean, limited to the insular part of the region, which may simply reflect old metropolitan visions. A notable exception in this respect is Hal Klepak's chapter on Canada, whose view with respect to the concept of security is broader, and whose vision of the dynamics of regional security goes significantly beyond the insular area to include Central America and the Latin American countries in general. Overall, the book's early chapters invite readers to ask if the analysis made from the traditional perspective is not significantly permeated by the colonial legacies or hegemonic aspirations of the external actors whose security policies are being scrutinized.

The dominant orientation of the first part gradually shifts in the second part, which covers regional actors and the security environment. This is particularly evident in the chapter by Michel Laguette on Haiti and the one by Rodríguez Beruff on the strategic military interests and the self-determination of Puerto Rico, where the issues of the domestic political dynamic and the economic variables begin to give a new twist to the analysis of regional security. On the other hand, the two chapters on Cuba included in this second part – "Cuba's Security in the 1990s" by Isabel Jaramillo Edwards and "The US-Cuba Strategic Game" by Anthony Maingot, along with an impressive amount of information, are situated again in a strategic analysis that favors in principle an approach that is overwhelmingly strategic-military. This is certainly not by chance, given the current state of relations between the United States and Cuba and its possible regional impact despite the end of the Cold War.

The third part of the book, "Drugs and Migration as Security Problems," tackles, in three extremely informative and empirically well-anchored chapters, the new priorities in the regional security agenda – drug trafficking in the chapter by Ivelaw Griffith, the geopolitics of Caribbean immigration in the chapter by Ramon Grosfoguel, and the problems of illegal migration in Michael Morris's "Coast Guards and Boat People." The validity of most of the analyses included in this volume lies, however, in a point of view that continues to favor the security priorities of an agenda that is particularly relevant to the new strategic interests at work in the region in the aftermath of the Cold War. Frequently with a strong influence of the approaches that emerge from the prioritization of the interests of important external actors, such as the United States, France, and Great Britain, or internal ones, like Cuba, within an approach that persists in using the predominantly "realist" school concepts which question some of the claims and aspirations mentioned by the editors in the

introduction, especially with regard to a wider view of security which includes political, economic, and social factors, and the characteristics of the ongoing integration process.

Its predominant approach notwithstanding, the book is characterized by a great wealth of analysis and information in its attempt to treat the slippery subject of Caribbean regional security in the post-Cold War era, and especially by a "realist" discursive coherence. Perhaps this should have been assumed more consistently by the editors when they relegated to a second plane a focus on the extra-military components of security in the region in the context of the new integrationist dynamic in which it is immersed.

Silencing the Guns in Haiti: The Promise of Deliberative Democracy.
IRWIN P. STOTZKY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997. xvi + 294 pp. (Cloth US\$ 24.95)

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This is one of the best books written about Haiti since 1991. It is theoretically sophisticated, thoroughly researched, meticulously documented, and tightly argued. And it is written with the insights of an insider.

The book's central argument is that the return to constitutional rule in October 1994 was a necessary but not sufficient condition for the establishment of a viable democracy and equitable process of economic development. Stotzky proposes an "epistemic" or deliberative democracy for Haiti. The epistemic model of democracy is based on the principle that through collective deliberation and dialogue, the people can transform their selfish interests and preferences and achieve a collective consensus prescribed by valid moral principles. This conception of democracy contrasts sharply with the prevailing "pluralistic" model of democracy where the aim is to ensure that individuals and their groups promote their particular interests in the name of the common good so long as no single group is allowed to monopolize power. This latter conception of democracy is essentially negative because its value lies in advancing individual or group self-interest by protecting against tyranny or anarchy (pp. 66-70). The antidote to a system that allows special interests to prevail, Stotzky argues, is a polity governed by universal and impersonal principles where citizens,

who are free to change their mind and are not bound to special interests, justify their choices through public dialogue (p. 73).

A deliberate or epistemic democracy can work, however, only if citizens are free to deliberate and decide about the ends of social life, well educated about the important issues confronting their society, and able to acquire the tools and resources necessary for them to participate in public discourse. To meet these requirements, inequalities in the control and allocation of resources must be changed so that a small group of elites cannot control and decide on the allocation of resources unless validated through collective deliberation (p. 74).

Stotzky knows that the task of establishing even a formal representative democracy in Haiti is daunting and uncertain, and more so the epistemic variation he advocates. He devotes considerable time to the obstacles Haiti faces in the transition to democracy. These include the extreme underdevelopment and poverty of the majority of Haitians, the legacy of dictatorship and of the prebendary state, drug trafficking, corruption, and violence, and the aversion of the tiny but wealthy and powerful Haitian elite toward the Haitian people. Stotzky also criticizes the negative role of the United States, or U.S. government agencies, in undermining the process of democratization. These actions include supporting the old military before and during the coup; collaborating with and protecting members of the paramilitary death squads and the military implicated in assassinations, drug trafficking, and other criminal activities; withholding Haitian government documents taken from Haiti during the intervention that could be vital in bringing such criminals to justice and in establishing the rule of law; and current congressional attempts to incapacitate the Preval administration for domestic partisan purposes.

Still, Stotzky sees signs of hope in the restoration of constitutional rule since 1994 and in the "Aristide plan for social and economic reconstruction," which was also adopted by President Preval, and which aims at a more just and equitable process of development. This plan was in fact (though Stotzky fails to mention it) devised in collaboration with (and closely mirrors the policies of) the international financial aid and lending institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Inter-American Development Bank. Despite the progressive aspects of the plan, Stotzky criticizes those he sees as counterproductive, such as the free trade component that he argues will benefit primarily the traditional elites who dominate the import sector but will be disastrous for millions of peasants, small entrepreneurs, and artisans who cannot compete with cheaper imports (pp. 105-13). He seems more equivocal, however, on the controversial plan to privatize the public enterprises. On the one hand, Stotzky argues that though privatization will ostensibly reduce inflation, it will lead to the creation of new private monopolies, remove popular

pressure to keep down the prices of state-provided services, and generally cause serious harm to the Haitian economy (p. 111). On the other hand, he defends the Preval government's privatization scheme, which calls for creating joint-ventures with private investors who would manage the enterprises and infuse the needed capital and technology to make them more efficient and productive. This variant promises to allow the Haitian government to have more control over public assets. But Stotzky warns about the role of the Haitian business elite who, along with foreign investors, are the ones with enough capital to enter into joint-ventures with the government and hence strengthen their economic power and influence (pp. 182-87).

The book's most significant weaknesses pertain to its treatment of Aristide, which I believe to be too uncritical. For example, Stotzky mentions that Aristide distanced himself from "his" 1994 plan after it became popular, and is now taking on the role of critic of the Preval administration. But he fails to mention that this was not the first time that Aristide abandoned policies he had previously endorsed while sacrificing his ministers. In 1991 Aristide allowed his Minister of Commerce, Smarck Michel, to take the blame for the mass protests over Michel's decision to raise prices on basic goods and to resign as a result. And in 1994 Aristide sacked his prime minister, the same Smarck Michel, for implementing unpopular economic measures that followed from "the plan" that he (Aristide) had endorsed.

In the same vein, Stotzky ignores the 1991 socioeconomic plan of the first Aristide government that was more social democratic, more egalitarian, and more interventionist than the 1994 plan, but which Aristide jettisoned in order to win the support of the United States to return him to power. Stotzky, in fact, does not reconcile an apparant contradiction in his argument. How, one may ask, will the free market strategy adopted by the second Aristide and the Preval administrations, even while taking into account Stotzky's warnings and all that he thinks is positive in the plan, cause less rather than more inequality, poverty, unemployment, and underdevelopment, and hence make the likelihood of moving toward an epis-temic model of democracy even more remote?

Lastly, Stotzky could have scrutinized more fully Aristide's erratic behavior as president in 1991, especially toward the business elite. He courted this group for their support but ended up giving them the excuse they needed to join with the army to topple him.

These weaknesses notwithstanding, *Silencing the Guns in Haiti* is must reading for anyone who wants to have a critical understanding of Haiti's turbulent recent history and prospects for a more hopeful future.

Framing Silence: Revolutionary Novels by Haitian Women. MYRIAM J.A. CHANCY. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997. ix + 200 pp. (Cloth US\$ 48.00, Paper US\$ 17.95)

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This is a fascinating study of Haitian women novelists from a feminist perspective. Myriam Chancy states that she has worked within the “tenets of radical feminism for women of color” (p. 7). She gives an incisive explanation (in Chapter 1) of the refusal of women of color to align themselves with Western feminisms. Western feminists are unable “to recognize their capacity to oppress other women who do not occupy the same positions of relative power that extinguishes the transformative potential of feminist politics” (p. 36). Chancy posits a distinctive thrust in Haitian feminism for “its refusal to acknowledge *lack of consciousness*” (p. 38, *her italics*). Haitian women, even those who were illiterate and had little or no schooling, have always engaged in dialogue, whether at home, in drama, at the market place, or in political activism. Chancy argues that Haitian women are perfectly capable of bridging class differences and developing revolutionary agendas (pp. 42-43).

In Chapter 2 she argues that the primary value of Mme. Virgile Valcin’s *La blanche négresse* and Annie Desroy’s *Le joug* was in portraying the “effects of the United States [occupation of Haiti] on the Haitian (female) psyche” (p. 48). Chancy opposes the critical view that these novels are outdated, sentimental, and minimally interesting for modern readers. In Chapter 3, she examines two novelists who “disrupt” rather than confirm “standard modes of historicizing” (p. 75). Ghislaine Charlier’s *Mémoires d’une affranchie* is particularly deserving of critical treatment. (Chancy mistakenly gives “Mémoire” in the singular and notes the wrong publisher: it is Editions du Méridien, not Leméac.) Charlier’s “affranchie,” the daughter of a Frenchman and his beloved African concubine, has been raised as a thinking, independent young woman who dares to look white men defiantly in the eyes. The story, a narrative addressed to her son by Julie Maurer in her old age, recalls the last days of colonial Saint-Domingue and ends during the Haitian Revolution. Jan J. Dominique’s *Mémoire d’une amnésique* (1984) is an autobiographical exploration of identity by a young writer who resembles Dominique herself. Although coherence is difficult for the respective narrators to achieve, Chancy finds that both novels “accurately reflect the condition of exile many Haitian

women authors undergo as they attempt to tell an untold story." In addition, these narratives "ultimately alienate the authors from the mainstream, Haitian literary scene" (p. 78).

Chapter 4 is devoted to "the politics of textual sexuality" in Nadine Magloire's *Le mal de vivre* and Edwidge Danticat's *Breath, Eyes, and Memory*. Magloire's offence was to have written openly and explicitly about female sexuality. Chancy emphasizes "the necessity of creating a language and a frame of reference through which the Haitian woman can come to represent herself and her sexuality directly" (p. 107). Magloire's heroine, Claudine, looks on marriage as "prostitution" and "exempts herself from the obligation to abide by the conventional rules of the marriage contract" (p. 116). Danticat's protagonist, Sophie, is the offspring of rape and her mother has been guilty of sexually abusing her, with the misguided idea of "protecting" her. Danticat's trick (achievement and deception) is to have inscribed her creole thinking in English. Both novels conclude in silence: "in that resounding silence, in the absence of textual representations of identity that reflect a vision of hope, we should hear the 'cri de coeur' of all Haitian women" (p. 133).

In Marie (Vieux) Chauvet's *Les rapaces* (published posthumously) and Anne-Christine d'Adesky's *Under the Bone* (1994), Chancy addresses "the ways in which Haitian women writers have conveyed and/or defied the apocalyptic in their works" (p. 143). Following the death of Papa Doc, Chauvet shows "revolutionary characters [attempting] the impossible by steadfastly adhering to a belief in freedom of expression" (p. 153). D'Adesky focuses on the period immediately following the ouster of Baby Doc (1986), in which Duvalierism continued to dominate the Haitian political scene. Chancy concludes that the female characters of these two writers "are revolutionaries who in the act of renouncing personal or economic privilege usher into being a reinvigorated sense of the *plausibility* of Haitian women's collectivity" (p. 163, Chancy's italics). The "literature that has emerged since 1934 emphatically engages in the political struggle over ideology and self-representation begun by Haitian women during the Occupation" (p. 169).

In spite of a few factual and typographical errors – François Duvalier did not take office in "September" (p. 146), but rather on his mystical date, October 22, 1957 – Chancy has produced an extremely lively study that will interest all readers and specialists of Haitian literature.

Island Paradox: Puerto Rico in the 1990s. FRANCISCO L. RIVERA-BATIZ & CARLOS E. SANTIAGO. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1996. xi + 198 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

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Island Paradox is a handy reference book that offers abundant data on the demographic and socioeconomic changes among Puerto Ricans in both Puerto Rico and the United States during the 1970s and 1980s. The book provides an excellent introduction to Puerto Rico and the problems that Puerto Ricans are confronting on the island and on the U.S. mainland. Its primary data sources are the 1970, 1980, and 1990 U.S. Bureau of the Population and Housing censuses.

The eight chapters, as well as most of the appendices, contain detailed data on a variety of issues relevant to Puerto Rican society, including population growth, migration, poverty, income inequality, labor force participation, and education. The book effectively highlights how Puerto Rico was transformed from a rural-agricultural society to an urban-industrial one and delineates some of the demographic, social, and economic consequences of this dramatic transformation. However, many readers may want to look elsewhere for additional, more detailed information on these subjects.

Island Paradox is well organized and easy to read, and will be extremely valuable to the reader who has limited knowledge of the current demographic and socioeconomic reality of the Puerto Rican population. The summaries included at the end of each chapter provide a "quick reference guide" to some of the most important findings for that particular chapter. Tables, graphs, and figures (primarily based on frequency distributions and cross-tabulations) abound in this text and will be very useful for the novice on Puerto Rican affairs, as well as for a more "sophisticated" audience.

As with all types of descriptive and comparative research, this text generates many more questions than it answers. Readers seeking an in-depth analysis based on sound theoretical demographic, sociological, or econometric models will generally be disappointed. Those interested in a detailed historical background on the island, or an extensive discussion on the political status of Puerto Rico, or future models of economic development for Puerto Rico will also need to look elsewhere.

On several occasions the authors present census data that show some demographic or socioeconomic pattern in, for example, welfare reciprocity, or unemployment, that contradicts or does not support previous research findings based on "other" data sets. The authors assert that "the census-based analysis presented in this monograph provides results that often diverge drastically from Puerto Rican government figures" (p. 168). However, they generally do not attempt to discuss these discrepancies or provide explanations on why these findings are significantly different from previous research.

The primary argument presented for such discrepancies is that Rivera and Santiago's research is based on census data while other findings are based on less reliable data sources such as those generated by the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. In order to validate their argument, they indicate that the methodology and data generated by the government of Puerto Rico "have been repeatedly criticized by the island's economists" (p. 168). We generally may agree with this argument, and recognize that the U.S. census provides perhaps the most current and reliable data available on the issues presented by the authors, but they neglect to recognize and discuss the limitations of their data. For example, the census undercount has primarily affected people of color in the United States, including Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico and on the mainland. Furthermore, standard items in the U.S. Census "may omit, distort, or overly condense the details needed to study the Puerto Rican population" (Hernández 1983:11).

The title of the book, *Island Paradox*, appears to emerge from the fact that despite important and innovative economic development initiatives generated by the government of Puerto Rico, such as "Operation Bootstrap" in the 1950s, the Puerto Rican economy has become stagnant: unemployment has remained extremely high (currently, close to 15 percent); poverty levels are approximately 60 percent; income inequality has continued to increase; and the income gap between Puerto Rico and the United States has widened. Furthermore, despite significant overall economic improvements among Puerto Ricans in the United States, they continue to confront serious social and economic difficulties.

Despite the success of the authors in delineating the problems that Puerto Ricans confront, they revert to the traditional "human capital approach," concluding their book with an assertion that "if the Puerto Rican economy is to deal seriously with high unemployment rates [which they argue is the most important problem currently facing Puerto Rico], the education of its workforce must be sharply increased" (p. 164). However, while education is a key variable in Puerto Rico's economic development, there are significant structural, social, economic, and political issues that must also be addressed, evaluated, and analyzed if significant changes are

to take place. As Puerto Rico looks toward the twenty-first century, education will play an important role in the island's economic development, but it is only one of many other important variables that must come into play in Puerto Rico's uncertain future. This shortcoming in an otherwise very well thought out book can be attributed to the lack of a unifying theoretical framework.

Faculty in institutions of higher education who teach courses on minority issues, race and ethnicity, and/or the Puerto Rican population in the United States and Puerto Rico will benefit from this book as primary or supplementary reading for their students. Furthermore, readers eager to learn about the Puerto Rican reality will also be pleased with this book. In general, *Island Paradox* will fulfill its mission in generating a "deeper understanding of present-day Puerto Rico, its people, and its society" (p. 165).

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Quisqueya la Bella: The Dominican Republic in Historical and Cultural Perspective. ALAN CAMBEIRA. Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996. xi + 272 pp. (Cloth US\$ 62.95, Paper US\$ 24.95)

The Dominican Republic Today: Realities and Perspectives. EMELIO BETANCES & HOBART A. SPALDING, JR. (eds.). New York: Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, CUNY, 1996. 205 pp. (Cloth n.p.)

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Quisqueya la Bella and *The Dominican Republic Today*, though dissimilar in their contents, are solid contributions to the understanding of the Dominican Republic today. Both books help to close the existing gap concerning in-depth analysis in English of both the Dominican people and the socioeconomic problems that currently afflict Dominican society. Both deserve a wide audience.

The increasing number of Dominicans in the United States in the last three decades or so has generated much scholarly interest in things Dominican. Alan Cambeira examines Dominican society with the declared intention to offer "a kind of basic working tool for those readers with a genuine desire and interest in being formally introduced to Dominican culture" (p. 10). He seeks to fulfill his task by means of a methodology that combines participant observation and interviews, along with bibliographical research to construct a narrative that is fresh, clearly organized, and highly informative. Although he claims that his writing is not guided by "any broad scheme or personal thesis to prove or sociopolitical agenda to present," his text is generally passionate and committed, and he does well to admit that his book "is laced with [his] own personal observations, perspectives, and opinions" (p. 10).

Cambeira argues his views with conviction. In his description, for instance, of the first encounter between the Tainos and the Spaniards in 1492, he clearly portrays the former as innocent victims who were minding their own business at the time of the "discovery" and the latter as selfish barbarians, and fortune-seekers, whose ambition led to the physical extermination of an entire race. There is no attempt on his part either to justify Columbus's voyage or to visualize it as a necessary enterprise which sought the advancement of humanity.

Cambeira's interests transcend the limits of history and cultural definitions as narrowly perceived. He defines Dominican culture broadly, including historical monuments, food, musical patterns, and an observation of how people walk, talk, do their work, behave, cook, or look at their society. It is not enough to explain the preponderance of *sancocho* in the Dominican diet; one also needs to know the kinds of ingredients used, how it is prepared, and the myths behind its preparation (pp. 219, 251). We learn, for instance, that Doña Gudelia, who has a well-guarded recipe for *sancocho*, would only use chickens raised in her own town, Tamboril, refusing to use chickens imported from Santo Domingo or the United States (p. 232).

Similarly, Cambeira sets out to shed light on the understanding of the Dominican mind. He narrates, for instance, a national meeting of young Dominican intellectuals who meet to seek solutions to "the serious internal crisis facing La República Dominicana" (p. 218). Rather than speaking about a victimized people, harassed by constant poverty and inept political leaders, he describes the activism and involvement of the Dominican people in the life of their country and their attitude to fix what is wrong and to straighten out that which is twisted. To answer the questions "who can most accurately and most suitably define Dominican culture? and whose voice speaks most authentically for what constitutes Dominican culture?" (p. 214), Cambeira collects the impressions of

speakers from the most renowned to the most humble. The eighty-three-year-old Dominican National Poet, Don Pedro Mir, reaffirms what many readers perhaps already know about Dominican culture. For Paulina Lantigua, who is an ordinary woman, Dominican culture is defined as everything from "the delicately crafted ceramic faceless dolls to the mystical underground caves and springs at Tres Ojos" (p. 217).

Cambeira composes a long list of items which in his view describe Dominican culture, thus displaying his rare familiarity with the most basic elements of everyday life in the Dominican Republic. For Cambeira learning about Dominican culture means "sitting for about an hour in the central plaza of any small town, chatting idly with the local elders who are there regularly every day" (p. 236-37) as well as knowing the singularity of Dominican linguistic resources.

Cambeira draws from early Dominican history to account for the specificity which may have led to distinct cultural and identity patterns in Dominican society. The Spaniards implemented a structured society in La Española in which wealth was intertwined with race: the white masters owned the means of production (including the slaves themselves) and the black slaves owned nothing. But during the entire seventeenth century both masters and slaves were left on their own by the Spanish Crown, whose army had trouble navigating through the pirate infested Caribbean waters. The white settlers were left without commerce and Spanish products and had to share the food available in the island with the slaves. Cambeira believes that this specific situation may have had an equalizing effect among people, particularly masters and slaves, who found themselves without the concrete means to sustain a social structure based on racial differences.

In discussing Dominican identity Cambeira challenges the oft-repeated notion that Dominicans deny their blackness and reject their African roots. He affirms that Dominican identity is made up of three main heritages – the Taino, Spaniard, and African, adding that "The practice of referring to an individual as half-caste or half-breed, with its accompanying stigma of mongrelization, is totally absent in Dominican society ... So unlike the United States, with its pervasive, emotionally charged preoccupation with matters of race, La República Dominicana approaches the question quite differently" (p. 220). In the Dominican Republic, the mixing of the races led to a complex racial rainbow which is clearly perceivable in the phenotype of the people in a variety of colors and which Dominicans arrange from plain *indio* to *indio claro*, to *indio oscuro*, etc. to refer to a person who is essentially mulatto and whose skin color is dark. The same mulatto, however, once in the United States, Cambeira explains, becomes simply black. What is innovating about his analysis is that rather than carving a narrow definition of racial identity, he attempts to understand race within a

Dominican context, putting aside racial notions imported from other social orders. The fact that people who are black in the United States are not necessarily perceived as such in the Dominican Republic does not lead him to suggest that the Dominican definition of race hides a complete negation of their blackness and African heritage. *Quisqueya la Bella* opts for explaining racial understanding from the point of view of the racial complexity in the Dominican Republic, rather than from what Cambeira may have thought it should have been. Black in the Dominican Republic is not simply black, as may be understood elsewhere. It has a variety of shades and tones, which though fully acknowledged by Dominicans, adds to a configuration that may be puzzling to a non-Dominican.

To decipher Dominican identity one faces the real challenge of accounting for the harmonious coexistence of apparently contradictory expressions within one single cultural milieu: that of *el negro bembón* (a pejorative description of the thick lips of a black or mulatto person) and that which asserts, that "*Despues que se apaga la luz, somos todos del mismo color*" ("when the lights are out, we are all the same color"). An effort to tackle that complexity is what the reader will find in *Quisqueya la Bella*.

Perhaps the hardest part of reviewing a book made up of a collection of essays is finding a central theme, a coherent line of argument, and a consistency in the quality of the writing and issues treated in the volume. Emelio Betances and Hobard A. Spalding, Jr., two seasoned scholars on Dominican studies, have largely succeeded. They have selected a set of well-written essays on contemporary Dominican society which clearly exhibit a central theme followed by analytical coherence. In their respective articles, the authors concur that at the present time, the Dominican Republic is in need of systemic and structural reforms. In the economic area, both Miguel Ceara Hatton and Andrés Dauhajíé propose economic policies to address falling GNP, inflationary prices, deficits in the balance of payments, and the devaluation of the Dominican peso. Yet they address these issues from diametrically opposed angles. Dauhajíé, *hijo*, believes that Balaguer's challenge was to maintain the level of economic stability reached by 1992 (p. 24) and proposes a neoliberal approach of loosening the Dominican economy or further opening its internal markets to sustain such equilibrium; Ceara Hatton totally repudiates this approach, criticizing Balaguer's economic program which, he argues, did not constitute a really dynamic axis of growth, and bent to too many special interests, particularly international, and suggests, instead, a more inward looking plan.

Several of the articles will immediately capture readers' attention, but perhaps none is more engaging than the one by Patricia Pessar who takes part in the current debate in migration studies concerning the impact of

out-migration in the sending society and the possible effect return migrants may have in their native land. The relationship between migrants and sending societies is perhaps today's hottest issue in migration studies. Out-migration leaves a negative impact on the sending communities. In the rural area, the increasing acquisition of land by migrants and their patterns of investments lead to monopoly and unemployment. Migrants "prefer cattle-raising because it is neither labor- nor capital-intensive, and it requires minimal supervision" (p. 157). Furthermore, cattle raising impacts on the ability of the nation to produce food for internal consumption. Not surprisingly, the relationship between migrants and non-migrants is tense and aggressive, and by and large, migrants are unwanted visitors. Consequently, native Dominicans, when possible, would avoid rubbing elbows with returned migrants. Specific state policies targeting, for instance, migrants' investments, Pessar proposes, could very well be a solution to the problem.

José del Castillo presents a detailed analysis of the Dominican political system, with emphasis on the new political and institutional reforms and the past elections since 1978. Since 1978, Del Castillo argues, the military menace has disappeared and electoral processes as well as the succession of governments have taken place democratically, with many reforms either approved or currently under discussion to modernize the Dominican Congress and update the constitution. However, the Dominican Republic is still far from enjoying a fully democratic system. There is the issue, for instance, of the inability of the state to satisfy the basic needs of the majority of the people, thus undermining the legitimacy of the ruling structure. Likewise, systematic accusations of electoral frauds have led to apathy and distrust among Dominican voters. In 1990, for instance, electoral abstention was around 40 percent as compared to an average of 27 percent in the prior three elections. The rate of registered voters also fell precipitously, suggesting a disturbing disdain for politics among the young (p. 84).

Roberto Cassá provides a thoughtful study of popular protests and strikes in the Dominican Republic and describes the innovative elements which have characterized such movements after 1978. Not understood by traditional organizations, these movements have developed around specific needs and concerns of given groups or communities rather than around issues that may call for a restructuring of the entire society. Pamela Graham and Jonathan Hartlyn present an analysis of the relationship between the Dominican Republic and the United States in light of a fast changing world that remains populated by countries of unequal socio-economic position. The twist, however, is that while trade between the two countries, for instance, would largely depend upon the specific interest of the United States, Dominican migration to this country, though

strictly regulated and controlled by the United States, also depends on the willingness of migrant actors. Migrant settlements could promote unwanted immigration as well as political challenges to undermine attacks emanating from forces opposing immigration.

The collection edited by Betances and Spalding, like the overview of Dominican society by Cambeira, is a valuable addition to the growing bibliography of Dominican studies spurred by the emergence of significant numbers of Dominicans as students in urban public schools and public institutions of higher education in the United States.

The Dominican Republic: A Country between Rain Forest and Desert.
EBERHARD BOLAY. Weikersheim, FRG: Margraf Verlag, 1997. 456 pp.
(Paper DM 90.00)

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Comprehensive environmental descriptions of individual Caribbean islands or nations are difficult to find. Bolay's recent volume is an exception. He is a German ecologist who resided in the Dominican Republic from 1981 to 1984 as a member of a German/Dominican team of scientists assessing management approaches for Dominican wildlife and forestry. Based upon his extended field experience and several subsequent visits, Bolay has written and compiled the bulk of the book, and he has translated from German and Spanish into English contributions from several other colleagues to augment the volume. The publisher's notice that accompanies *The Dominican Republic* identifies its intended audience: "ecologists, anthropologists, biologists, and ... visitors with more than a casual interest in this fascinating [sic] country."

Noting this typing or spelling error underlines the principal weakness of Bolay's study. The author's own (awkwardly-phrased) explanation tells why his book appears in English: "I would have preferred to write either in German or Spanish, but the economic arguments of the editors convinced me to write in English, this, however, being a foreign language for me as well as for my Dominican friends. However, in this language we intend to reach a broader range of interested persons" (p. 15). This unfortunate editorial decision results in a volume that suffers throughout from awkward and often ungrammatical sentence and paragraph con-

struction. As one example, in his brief discussion of the U.S.-inspired eradication of Hispaniola's swine population in 1979, the author points out that American officials – fearing that the pigs sometimes brought to Florida by Haitian immigrants would spread swine fever to the U.S. mainland – insisted that Haitian pigs be eliminated because of “so-called ‘Secretary Reasons’” (p. 282). This arresting assertion makes sense when one realizes, after momentary reflection, that he apparently means “security reasons.” And the subtitle of this section – again, typical of much of the wording throughout the book – is called “A swine of a problem,” (p. 281) which seems more clumsy than clever.

The book's graphic material helps to compensate for losses in translation. The artist Wolfgang Lang has produced scores of excellent line drawings of leaf structures, animals, soil complexes, and forest types, and a brief section of well-chosen color plates as well as many small black-and-white photos all through the study illustrate the volume handsomely. Nineteen appendices at the end identify Dominican animals and plants in several of the country's parks and regions. A sixteen-page bibliography enumerates ecological and biological reports and articles in German, English, and Spanish that deal specifically with the Dominican Republic; but it omits a number of important general works such as the MacArthur and Wilson (1967) study that is by now a biological classic and which uses Caribbean examples in discussing relationships between species diversity and island size.

Bolay's book has seven chapters. Two more-or-less introductory chapters are followed by those dealing with Dominican flora and fauna and then agriculture and forestry. Chapter 5 (“Selected Areas”) and Chapter 6 (“Selected Aspects”) consider the salient environmental characteristics of some of the country's regions as well as important overall ecological issues prior to the concluding remarks in Chapter 7. Throughout, Bolay laments the detrimental effects that modernization – manifested by maquiladora factories, pesticides, and tourism – has had and is having on the Dominican environment. Yet, as in any good ecological study, the book portrays these issues in a broader social context. The section dealing with “Slash-and-burn agriculture in the western Cibao” (pp. 232-42), for example, asserts that destructive cultivation practices in marginal areas are symptomatic of the more general nationwide problems of limited employment possibilities and inequities in land distribution.

The determined reader will gain much from *The Dominican Republic*; beyond the inelegant prose and lists of tree and shrub species, the author has compiled a variety of fascinating facts from his and others' field excursions and conversations with Dominicans in the countryside. A small number of “very shy horses” in an isolated area of the Sierra de Baoruco may be feral descendants of Spanish stock from earliest colonial days (p. 115).

As recently as 1951, "escaped" Haitian canecutters, similar to Maroons of an earlier era, hid out in the rugged karst hills south of the Samaná peninsula to avoid mistreatment by Dominican authorities (p. 224). In February 1985, thousands of Dominicans lined Santo Domingo's beach-front to observe a school of spawning humpback whales (p. 312). Oil pollution and herbicide poisoning recently have reduced mangrove species which in turn has killed fish and oyster populations, eliminated the plants' ability to filter coastal sewage sludge, and led to soil erosion (pp. 213-14). The final ascent up Pico Duarte – which, at 3,175 meters above sea level, is the Caribbean's highest mountain – features patches of alpine meadow, stunted pines, and morning frost, different from any other place in the Caribbean (p. 273).

Reading *The Dominican Republic* is not unlike a day in the field, a metaphor of which the author might approve. The reader slogs through arduous and difficult prose, skirts thickets of italicized genus and species, and finds much of the journey exhausting, but the inevitable encounters with genuinely exciting environmental features and events, accessible only by being on the ground, make the experience ultimately rewarding.

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A Visa for a Dream: Dominicans in the United States. PATRICIA R. PESSAR. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995. xvi + 98 pp. (Paper US\$ 14.10)

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An accessible, compassionate, and informative book, *A Visa for a Dream* shows that it is possible to write with substance and analytic care even when writing for a more general audience. Pessar's contribution is part of a valuable new book series on "the new immigrants" which, according to the Foreword, seeks to provide "a depth often lacking in research on immigrants in the United States" (p. viii).

Indeed Patricia Pessar communicates warmth and understanding even as she presents revealing, and not always complimentary, data about the situation of Dominicans in the United States. Combining statistical, interpretive, legal, sociological, historical, and ethnographic materials almost seamlessly, she provides a picture of Dominicans in the States that is complex and even personal. Acknowledging the harsh economic conditions affecting large numbers of them, Pessar skillfully avoids the blanket portrayals of poverty and crime that often appear in the media and through which Dominicans, like certain of their predecessors in the United States, get negative publicity. In *A Visa for a Dream*, Pessar makes sure readers also see business successes and class differences, social dynamism, educational commitment, and creativity. In this sense, the book is very successful.

Sociologists, social anthropologists, and social historians with a background in migration studies will find the genre familiar in ways Pessar may or may not have intended (and that the book series of which it is a part may or may not actively intend). The book particularizes (e.g., "Dominicans in the United States"), rather than thematizing or theorizing. As Nancy Foner, Series Editor, writes, "the *New Immigrant Series* provides a set of case studies that explores these themes among a variety of groups" (p. vii). The "groups" are typically defined by country of origin, much the way the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service does, although acknowledgment of internal differences in "nationality" or "ethnicity" in the largest of those countries may result in a narrowing of the "group" under discussion. The series, for example, includes a book by Steven J. Gold on "Jews from the Former Soviet Union in California." While Pessar, like all good scholars who have preceded her, explores the diversity of the "group" here called "Dominicans in the United States," the discursive effect of the common U.S. discourse on "immigrants" is to group people by nationality of origin and assume that many social, cultural, psychological, economic, religious, ideological, political, educational, and phenotypic similarities follow. The irony of otherwise wonderfully skilled and elegantly informative books like this one is that they simultaneously poke holes in, and reinforce, the notion of "groupness" that U.S. public culture has created.

Equally interesting is the rhetorical organization of chapters, which is, indeed, typical of books on individual immigrants and immigrant groups. One is introduced to the issues, problems, and concerns the author has by being taken first through the story of departure from a home outside the United States to settlement in it. Of course, the concept that makes all these people (half a million in Pessar's case) a "group" is the story of their emigration from another country and immigration into the United States.

But it is still interesting to see the power of this notion and its impact on

new scholarship, such as *A Visa for a Dream*, that seeks (successfully) in other ways to be better and different. A short introduction and discussion of research methods precedes the now familiar "chronological" or story-line order. Pessar's Chapter 1 (on "the emigration process") is immediately followed by a chapter entitled "Settling in New York." Chapter 3 ("Buscando Mejor Vida: In Search of a Better Life") profiles Dominicans now in the New York economy. Chapter 4 ("Dominican Immigrant Families") is subtitled "Continuity and Change" and includes a discussion of Dominican youth and their growing distance or difference from their Dominican-born parents and non-immigrant relatives in the Dominican Republic. And Chapter 5 documents the present and gropes for an understanding of the "challenges that lie ahead." Here Pessar argues for the transformation of many Dominican "immigrants" into U.S. "ethnics," while simultaneously developing and maintaining "transnational lives ... maintaining a presence in both New York and the Dominican Republic." The balance she strikes in that discussion is appealing.

Scholars and teachers of late twentieth-century "migration" flows, "transnationalism" as a way of life, Latin American Studies, Caribbean Studies, public policy, and sociocultural anthropology ought to take a look at this potentially multi-purpose book. It is part of a small but growing number of books and reports (e.g., Grasmuck & Pessar 1991, Hernández et al. 1995 and 1997, Torres-Saillant & Hernández 1998) extending and updating the pioneering work done by Glenn Hendricks in *The Dominican Diaspora* (1974). It is no doubt the most accessible and "peopled," hence, the one with the widest potential readership.

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Believing Identity: Pentecostalism and the Mediation of Jamaican Ethnicity and Gender in England. NICOLE RODRIGUEZ TOULIS. Oxford NY: Berg, 1997. xv + 304 p. (Cloth US\$ 55.00, Paper US\$ 19.50)

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Believing Identity is an excellent account of a Jamaican Pentecostal congregation in Birmingham, U.K. The detailed analysis of membership, organization, and belief provides ample points of comparison and contrast with Malcom Calley's earlier *God's People*. It appears that the Jamaican Pentecostals in Toulis's study were rather more reflective on their circumstances than were members of the congregations studied by Calley. In significant part this apparent contrast is the product of very different analytical frameworks. Calley saw Jamaican Pentecostalism in Britain as a response to migrant "neurosis," as a clinging to the past and disinclination to engage with a new society. In Toulis's analysis, Pentecostalism emerges as a positive dimension of building and valuing a minority identity in a racialized Britain that Jamaicans must negotiate. One considerable value of the book is to offer those interested in ethnicity and identity a perspective on these issues from the vantage point of institutionalized religion in place of the more usual vantage points of family or political/community organization.

Consistent with this general orientation, the book begins with a detailed examination of writings on migration, identity, ethnicity, women and, finally, religion. Toulis maps out her general position when she observes, "By questioning whether African-Caribbean Pentecostal churches should be understood as a means of self-expression and of articulation with society or as a compensatory stance based on withdrawal from society, all the approaches outlined above see either/or answers while ignoring fundamental religious questions: For example: How does one become a member of such a church? What is the nature of the religious community to which one belongs? What is the significance of belief for members? How does belief express the nature of society and one's place in it? Lastly, does belief resolve a problem of meaning regarding identity for adherents, and if so, how?" (pp. 33-34).

In pursuing answers to these questions, especially to the final one, Toulis offers a detailed portrait of a congregation integrated with extensive references to relevant literature. She considers in turn the socio-

economic circumstances of the church, the relation between Jamaican Pentecostalism in Jamaica and in Britain, the individual in relation to the congregation, religion and identity, and gender relations. One interesting aspect of Toulis's account is her emphasis on the fact that "the tenor and place of religion in British society" is different from its Caribbean counterpart (p. 115). In observing that Jamaica is less secular than Britain, one is also observing that in Jamaica many more people live in a world that is ordered according to theology rather than political theory. Integral to this contrast are different understandings of social-causal efficacy in everyday life. Toulis's general point that Jamaicans in Britain simply cannot find, and are not encouraged to find in Britain, the "religion" that defines their world is an important observation that ties in with her discussion of identity. Toulis's account of various symbols of identity, including language, food, education, and work, is innovative and opens up the possibility of comparison with other communities in Britain and, possibly, the United States. Juxtaposed with her analysis of church members' own models of identity, and of the relation between religion and minority status identity, the reader is given a rich account of the nuances of Jamaican Pentecostal being in a larger British society.

Toulis's discussion of the manner in which gender is articulated in church practice through different forms of agency provides a most interesting account which addresses that much remarked paradox that while Pentecostal churches seem very patriarchal they are also extremely attractive to women. Given my own analysis in *Jamaica Genesis* of the gendered politics of Jamaican Pentecostal rite, I was particularly taken with Toulis's account of the notion of "mother" within the church and of its association with a specifically Jamaican view of the world. This rendering of "woman" in Jamaican Pentecostalism in Britain seems highly consistent with its counterpart in Jamaica and suggests forms of cultural continuity that are intrinsically interesting. Whether or not, as Toulis suggests, the masculinity of the pastor is modified and, to a degree, feminized through his association with Jesus is an observation that I find less convincing. Similarly, it is not entirely clear that even in a racialized Britain the gender order of Pentecostalism as perceived by Jamaican women is clearly preferable to most other options in their social milieu.

And this brings me to the one reservation I have concerning Toulis's argument. The thrust of her position seems to be that Jamaicans in Britain (as in Jamaica itself) are "voting with their feet" where Pentecostalism is concerned. Congregations seem to grow and grow rather than diminish even as people become more prosperous and socially secure. Arguments concerning "compensation" or "false consciousness" thereby seem inadequate for interpreting Jamaican Pentecostalism. Does one therefore propose that Pentecostalism and other like fundamentalisms are simply a

culturally influenced choice for the very large numbers of people in various relevant nation states who become involved in these congregations? An alternative political vehicle perhaps, or an alternative vehicle to politics? Or again, possibly an experience of the world that in a sense dissolves politics and takes up a quietist stance as a way of creating identity? In placing Jamaican Pentecostalism alongside other fundamentalisms, I cannot but remember de Certeau's observation that religion in the modern state becomes a "sacred theater of the system which will take its place." De Certeau here observes that a feature of modernity has been to subordinate religion to the state. And in the light of contemporary challenges to the order of nation states, it is this observation that makes interesting the growth of fundamentalist religion as a medium for national and international networks that seem to circumvent the state. Simultaneously, in different parts of the world, forms of institutional religion, and especially fundamentalist religion, can be indicative of both the modern state's strength and its weaknesses. Influential fundamentalism has been interpreted as indicative both of strong state structures (e.g., Israel) and of relatively weak ones (e.g., Iran). Fundamentalist religion is prominent as a state organization in weak nation states. Yet it is also a prominent vehicle of the weak in nation states that are more powerful. Significant links are being made between these two circumstances, and these in turn link with a third in the United States, where fundamentalist religion, though not adopted by the state, acts as an adjunct to powerful forces within it. Fundamentalism is still indicative of political position, and particularly of the political position of the women who enter Pentecostalism and make themselves subject to its gender orders. While these positions were once interpreted in fairly unidimensional ways, it is increasingly clear that they are highly nuanced and complicated. And while it is important to recount practitioners' experience as they describe it, it is also important to place these accounts in a larger framework of patterned relations that help explain why other women and other communities are not Pentecostal at all. Especially where issues of identity are concerned, the variation in media employed is crucial. Undoubtedly, these are complex issues and *Believing Identity* constitutes a thought-provoking contribution to both the study of Pentecostalism in itself and the study of migrant and minority identities, including gendered identities.

Barbados: Thirty Years of Independence. TREVOR A. CARMICHAEL (ed.). Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1996. xxxv + 294 pp. (Cloth US\$ 17.00)

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A former colleague of mine (and a cricketing enthusiast), on hearing of my departure to Barbados in 1987, asked me if I was aware that this tiny island had produced more world-class cricketers than the rest of the Caribbean. I was reminded of the comment on reading Carmichael's collection of essays commemorating thirty years of Barbados' independence. This tiny island has produced not only world-class cricketers, but an admirable nation state with an enviable civic culture, political framework, and economic structure.

The essays in this collection focus on the evolution of post-independence Barbados, on the structures and superstructures of both national and international life, on economics and politics, on policy and provision, on creativity and conservation. In many ways this was a commemorative manifesto, a celebration of what had been achieved: a standard of living which stands as one of the highest in the Caribbean, with efficient public provision of health, education, and social services, a thriving democracy and labor movement, relative social equity, a strong judiciary, and a vibrant literary and artistic culture. It is also an *aide-mémoire* of what remains to be undertaken, in each of these sectors, in an environment where the global and local variables are neither constant nor always compatible and where there are (as always) competing demands on scarce resources.

The contributors are drawn primarily from practitioners in the fields, bankers and economists, educationalists and lawyers, trade unionists and journalists, clergymen and sportspersons, academics and conservationists, with a brief to assess the issues and achievements of the last thirty years in their respective areas of expertise. Each of the essays explores the issues facing Barbados at the time of independence, and most were able to list a formidable catalog of achievement, and point to areas where further improvement is necessary, either because demands and awareness have shifted in thirty years, because growth in one sector has placed strains on provision in another, or because of the tensions generated by differentials in growth and maturity. Thus, for instance, there has been a major shift in thinking around the politics and economics of size and scale, away from central players and global management, toward the new political economy of sustainable development. This shift has, in turn, generated new

pressures in terms of conservation. Moreover, while tourism has developed as a major earner of foreign exchange, it has a knock-on effect in terms of provision and maintenance of an adequate infrastructure. Indeed, in most sectors of public provision – such as health or education – or personal achievement – such as sports or the arts – a delicate juggling is required to balance, if not reconcile, possible tensions between social obligation and social (and economic) need, or between the conflicting perceptions of professionals and politicians.

Anthologies such as these are difficult to handle, for a careful tightrope needs to be walked between congratulation and self-flagellation. The essays in this collection have avoided both smugness and sectarianism and have balanced measurable achievements with an honest exposition of problems, potential or actual. At the same time, the notion of nationhood and identity is extended beyond the purely fiscal or political, to explore the impact of nation and identity on less “measurable” achievements such as sports or the arts.

But national survival, national identity – and the art of government – is not merely about checking and balancing the multifarious pressures and constraints of society, but also of juggling histories, past, present, and future. To assess in a few thousand words the past, present, and future of, for instance, education, or public health, or the economy, or sport, or literature, or religion (to take a few examples) must necessarily make for generalizations and some of the essays read more like a checklist than an authoritative discussion. And while on balance these essays provide a fine overview of Barbados within the Caribbean and the wider world, there are some striking omissions. I wanted to read about some of the less obvious, but perhaps more contentious, dynamics of Barbadian society. While Barbados may not be characterized by extremes of wealth and poverty, there are nevertheless significant class differences and inequalities of wealth ownership which have been historically, and to a certain extent remain, characterized along the lines of race as well as social class. With the exception of Kathleen Drayton (who had to range over all the aspects of Barbadian cultural and artistic development), none of the contributors addressed the issues of race and class, and even in her essay, given the constraints of space and the market, they could only be listed rather than critically analyzed. Similarly, while migration was mentioned, its role – not least as foreign exchange earner – was not discussed. Nor was there any discussion on the family. Similarly, the chapter on religion appeared somewhat partisan for a society characterized by a long and varied tradition of non-conformism.

These are small and perhaps inappropriate criticisms for a book that attempted to embrace the widest range of contributions possible made by Barbadians in the forging, survival, and meaning of their nation and their national identity.

Het paradijs overzee: De "Nederlandse" Caraïben en Nederland. GERT OOSTINDIE. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1997. 385 pp. (Paper NLG 39.90)

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According to its preface, Oostindie's *Het paradijs overzee* offers "a detour along the main topics of a history that still connects the former [Dutch] colonies to their mother country. It is a book about the often appalling selfishness, carelessness, and naïvety of Dutchmen, but also about almost desperate efforts to make the most of it" (p. 7). The book consists of four parts, ordered chronologically. The first, which deals with slavery, discusses the often voiced claim that Caribbean slaves were more badly treated in the Dutch colonies than in those of the other European powers dominating the region. Oostindie argues that this claim is not valid for the Antilles, where natural conditions were too poor for plantations to flourish. As for Suriname, while he acknowledges that it had a vigorous and violent plantation history, he criticizes non-Dutch authors' practices of using anecdotal data and their indolent reliance on Stedman's *Narrative* (written in English) to the neglect of the majority of works on the subject, written in Dutch. For political reasons, Stedman's original British publisher, who brought the book out in 1796, appears to have altered crucial pages of Stedman's original manuscript in order to emphasize the cruel treatment of African slaves on Dutch plantations (Stedman 1988:lxiv).

The book's second part deals with differences in Dutch, British, and French approaches to decolonization. In the case of Suriname, the Dutch cabinet of the late prime minister, Joop den Uyl, aimed at a model political decolonization that ended prematurely in a military coup d'état. Since then, Desi Bouterse has dominated the political arena in Suriname, placing relations with the one-time mother country under severe pressure.

The third part focuses on the emigration of Surinamers to the

Netherlands, which peaked between the late 1960s and the early 1980s. Oostindie explains this exodus not as a continuation of already existing migration patterns but as a phenomenon triggered by the special political and economic circumstances at the time. While the rest of the book is mainly analytical, this part is richly garnished with anecdotes, a tendency that Oostindie earlier criticized in other authors.

The book's fourth part deals with the imported and fragmented identity of Caribbean societies, including the "Dutch" Caribbean, and argues that relations between the Antilles and the Netherlands are characterized by ambivalence. Officially, the Antilles and Aruba are equivalent partners but in practice they can also be viewed as neo-colonies of the Netherlands. (On the issue of ambivalence, see also Allen et al. 1990.)

The book's title is confusing. At the time the Dutch started to penetrate the Caribbean region, the deep interior of the Guianas inspired the legend of "Eldorado." During the post-independence exodus of Surinamers, however, the Netherlands was mythologized as what Suriname author Bea Vianen called "the paradise overseas." This perspective inverts Christian tradition, in which paradise is situated in the past, not in the future. Had they followed the Christian model, the people of this "plural" population would have found "paradises" in their various countries of origin in Africa and Asia, not in their former colonizer.

Further, I am puzzled by what is so Dutch about the "Dutch" Caribbean. Oostindie's book repeatedly raises this issue, but never addresses it systematically. On several occasions, Oostindie seems to be suggesting that proficiency in the Dutch language is a main operative faculty for the unity of Suriname's relatively separate communities with their distinctive histories. But he ultimately concludes that this criterion does not hold up. The individuality of the different communities comprises much more than a common language, a plural ethnic composition, and national feelings – the features that Oostindie discusses. For example, as G.F. Bacilio points out (in Allen et al. 1990), we also need to take into account strong family ties, religiosity, eating habits, artistic expression, and a culture of respect. Furthermore, Oostindie's book fails to provide a sound model for comparing the heterogenous "Dutch" Caribbean societies with each other and with their "European" counterparts, in particular Britain and France. Without that, all attempts to compare will remain more or less arbitrary.

While several of the book's chapters were previously published, the whole is eminently readable, and will be appropriate both for students in the field of Caribbean studies and for a general interested public.

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Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean. RICHARD D.E. BURTON. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1997. x + 297 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00, Paper US\$ 17.95)

Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance. JOSEPH ROACH. New York NY: Columbia University Press, 1996. xiii + 328 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00, Paper US\$ 17.50)

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The next wave of scholarship and cultural criticism concerning Caribbean cultures will address the global spread of styles and performance forms emerging from the Greater African World. Cultural observers point to a number of areas in the Greater Caribbean, already being called either the African or the Caribbean Diaspora, as hot-spots of cultural invention, but note that these are exportable forms which have impact half a world away. Moreover, focused studies of now one form, now another, illustrate the fact that geniuses of invention seem to emerge out of especially volatile political, economic, and social conditions. Spawned in conditions of unrest by peoples often educated to emigrate, these forms frequently carry their political bite with them.

Little note has been taken by social and political historians of the Trans-Caribbean world that begins to explain why these forms of song, dance, festive celebration, and religious experiences arising out of the admixture of European, African, and indigenous Americans should have such broad acceptance elsewhere. In his very fine work, *Afro-Creole*, Richard Burton puts the problem succinctly: "West Indian popular culture appears to combine a perpetual rebelliousness with an inability to effect lasting changes

in the structures of power" to which it is responding in such a confrontational manner (p. 263). Vernacular cultural forms grow directly out of local social and political concerns, so strong a relation that they "depend ... on the existence of those structures ... to exist at all" (p. 263). The lack of congruence between the vernacular power constantly manifested in West Indian locales and the engineering of social and political change remains an enigma, especially to those writers who stake out a political position and attempt to find, at the lively center of vernacular life, any programmatic bid for power on the "grassroots" level.

If I use the term "grassroots" here, it is not from the North American employment of it, but rather because it is the favored expression used by the geniuses of invention that populate the *panyards* in Trinidad in which local creativity is brought to bear year-round on Carnival music and costume theme, as Stephen Stuempfle reports in his fine book *Steelband Movement* (1995). Similar vernacular forms and terms emerge repeatedly throughout the region, often at such a rapid rate that it is difficult for the non-afficionado to keep abreast of the changes. More than this, as Richard Price (1998) has demonstrated (once again), historical memory is encoded in many local objects and forms – far from an unusual situation throughout the globalizing emporium world – encouraging each locale to develop tourist sites through which historical experience is cast and recast. So globalization affects the Greater Caribbean both through the Diaspora and through the counter-move of creating sites of memory of great attraction to those who are "coming home" in search of their heritage.

With just this problem in mind, Burton carries out a fine and comprehensive history of the development of Anglophonic Creole cultural forms in Jamaica and Trinidad. It is perhaps the most useful survey yet on the formation of distinctively Afro-Creole forms of public expression in the Anglophonic West Indies.

The author has found a convenient schema by which the sociopolitical dimension of Jamaican and Trinidadian expressive inventions may be effectively revealed. These are, he claims (and I think, rightly), sufficiently illustrative of the expressive genius found on other islands to argue that they are representative of the entire region. The terms of his argument derive from the distinction made by Michel de Certeau between political forms of *resistance* and those of *opposition*.

He also draws on the notions of Peter Wilson and others concerning norms of *respectability*- and *reputation*-seeking, while giving a potent account of the limitations of this literature. His overarching account of previous studies of the contending forms and practices in vernacular life is nicely organized and carried out. He has read widely and deeply, yet writes with a voice distinctly his own. If his perspective reflects a frustration with the failure of West Indians to draw on these creative resources

to achieve power, this is a position with a worthy ancestry: due respect is given to C.L.R. James, Eric Williams, Kamau Brathwaite, and Derek Walcott, among the many West Indian writers who have previously voiced such a perspective. Like these figures, he takes both an historical and a belletristic approach. Burton suggests that this area has been deeply tied in every way with those areas in the Old World from which many of the populations who populated the Black Americas originated.

In a more speculative work, Joseph Roach argues that a transatlantic movement of forms and ideas of the Other has knitted these worlds together for two and a half centuries and more. A theater historian and cultural theorist, Roach develops imaginative scenarios in which social and cultural interactions between the Old World and the New have created flashpoints of creativity through confrontative engagements in Great Britain, New Orleans, Early America, and West African life as early as the seventeenth century. Perhaps not so grounded in the details of local histories as Burton, Roach employs his ideas in an attempt to cast light on the very process of creativity in those culturally plural situations in which Africans, Europeans, and New World born peoples interact. He has encumbered his argument with a good deal of jargon from cultural studies and performance studies, but not to the point that his exercise should be overlooked.

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From Oral to Literate Culture: Colonial Experience in the English West Indies. PETER A. ROBERTS. Kingston, Jamaica: The Press University of the West Indies, 1997. xii + 301 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.00)

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The focus on topics of Caribbean orality, literacy, and colonialism should on its own draw readers to this book. I would argue that the significant

presence of language in the building of social experience should have stimulated many more such scholastic works in Caribbean studies. Hence, this book is, to me, a welcome contribution.

The author begins by introducing the principal location and role of language in the social and political life of West Indians. He sequesters a historical period for critical evaluation and identifies, within this period, a series of determining factors in the making of West Indian English.

Roberts discusses some important nonlinguistic communicative methods used in the plantation slave society, principally to show how reliance on such methods reveals the existence of isolated social entities, ones which later generate the use of English language variants. Proceeding, it is argued, from the cultural context of West African and British oralities (as well as from an emergent feudal English literacy), specified material objects offer elements at work in early unsophisticated signaling systems. These function, in other words, as proof of a particular stage in the developmental process leading to the "advanced" culture of literacy.

Despite the unfortunate suggestion that African culture in the Caribbean slave society appeared only after daily plantation work, the chapters on oral culture lead readers through a wonderful set of observations. Battling against African diversity as well as the isolating domains of estate, town, and ship, specific cultural tactics allowed the voice of the slave to create and recapture a sense of collective community. From what Roberts refers to as a "pre-oral" devolutionary stage, these tactics permitted the different social positions of master and slave to assist the movement of different language statuses toward each other to produce what we know as West Indian English. Indeed, with a persistent admixture of retentionist, diffusionist, and evolutionary theories, he offers us a panoramic picture of how English vernacular developed from British ethnicity and African "tribal" identities.

The bulk of the book, however, is preoccupied with literacy, language, and empire. Roberts is particularly concerned to show how and why literate communication develops into a more efficient means of controlling and managing the modern centralized colonial state. Moving from where it had very limited function in early plantation societies and debilitating multitudinous expression in individual penmanship, literacy in print technology became more accepted when it produced more uniform, quick, and clear writing. Printing served to index literacy levels, as its ability to standardize language became the most important mode of diffusing standard English into Caribbean societies. Colonialism found a most diligent ally. By its exclusion from print technology, the West Indian vernacular remained low in status. Even while traditionally oral influences on drama and poetry made these genres popular in print, the extended prose style dominated and a greater appreciation of Standard English ideas proliferated.

erated. Helped by the established structures of class and gender, formal schooling created allegiances with print technologies to fix the common language in literacy. In an "ecology" of literacy, teachers, pupils, and educational materials operated together in the collective project of making the Caribbean citizen docile and forever a subject of the European master.

This is a fine book, marred, to my mind, only by the collapse of the author's laudable agenda into the very ideology he wishes to criticize. In seeking to give respect and value to creole languages he follows an evolutionary paradigm which actually serves to reduce the vernacular to some imaginary lowly stage of development. It is difficult to provide equal value to creole orality when following the implications of a rationalist thesis of progress and greater efficiency. Nevertheless, this book has a prominent place on my bookshelf.

The White Minority in the Caribbean. HOWARD JOHNSON & KARL WATSON (eds.). Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 1998. xvi + 179 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95, Paper US\$ 18.95)

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Neglected in scholarship since the 1960s, when growing nationalism, decolonization, and black consciousness shifted research interests toward the experience of non-whites, the white minority in the Caribbean has not disappeared, and many remain in an elite position today. This collection of essays aims to bring a discussion of white minorities into mainstream scholarly thinking about the region in order to paint a more complete picture of social, economic, and political life. On a relatively untreated topic, this book provides foundational information which will prove useful to students and scholars of the Caribbean.

The scope of these essays is relatively large in both time span, covering the period from the beginning of European settlement to the post-colonial era, and in geographical area, with essays on countries from Belize to Guyana. Although covering mostly Anglophone Caribbean countries, the book considers one Dutch island (Curaçao) and one French (Martinique). The authors are historians, anthropologists, and one political scientist, most of whom are from Caribbean universities. The overall tone is more des-

criptive than analytic, and in many cases serves the function of laying the groundwork for previously untreated topics.

One striking feature of the book is the variety of scenarios in which white elites maintain their power. In Belize, writes Karen Judd, an alliance with foreign interests has allowed local white families to maintain their position of dominance, and they place little importance on being "natives," a task left to the non-white Creole elite, who dominate politics and thus vie for the role of defining the national history. In post-emancipation Guyana, Brian L. Moore writes that the cultural life of whites focused on following as closely as possible Britain's middle-class Victorian model, which fostered a sense of cultural unity based on middle-class prejudiced Victorian views and served as a means of social control.

In most other contexts, the white elites are a part of the local culture. Michael Craton traces white power through the Bahamas' history as he examines different white interests, concluding that since the 1960s class and local identity are more decisive than race for the people of the Bahamas, and predicts a decline in numbers of native whites. René A. Römer traces the history of Curaçao's diverse white population from a period he calls the Old Society to the period after the Royal Dutch Shell Company established a refinery on the island in 1915. Following the economic development in the Shell era, a white and colored middle class developed which became the bearer of the national culture, and an emphasis on local culture emerged as churches became closer and the large population of Jews assimilated into the common way of life. He concludes that lines of race and religion are being replaced by class lines.

Two essays treat the role of the white elites in politics. Karl Watson describes the class differences among the native whites in Barbados in the early nineteenth century as manifested by a split in political parties, one representing the landed elites and the other the white middle class, although the two sides were unified in their commitment to slavery. At the same time, he also describes the "shared physical and mental landscape" of all Barbadians, suggesting that nationalistic sentiment is stronger than any internal divisions among the population or even among whites themselves. Fred Constant looks at the way members of the white elite in Martinique maintained power after universal adult male suffrage in 1871 by manipulating the emerging colored political class and through lobbying efforts in which they used their economic power as a tool. He also argues that they have managed to maintain power because local leaders were able to convert public funds into private ones, and have always been adaptive, following whichever political party protects their private profits.

In an interesting essay with a focus on gender, Hilary McD. Beckles examines the entrepreneurial journey of a female-centered household to Barbados, on the one hand bringing women into the historiographical

picture as autonomous and independent historical agents, and on the other hand as a tool for examining the differentiated nature of the white community. Following the lives of these white urban businesswomen – the nature of their enterprises, their own slave-holding activities, and their set of values – helps us better understand the differences between urban and rural economies, class differences, and patriarchal society.

Many of the essays treat the subject of the white elite both in terms of the role played in the society as a whole and as a heterogeneous group in and of itself. Bridget Brereton thoroughly discusses the society and culture of white elites in Trinidad between 1838 and 1950, calling them a “true elite” in their domination of economic, political, and social life, but also the most diverse white elite in the British Caribbean. This diversity reflects origins and cultural traditions, but over the years the group began to homogenize somewhat as it became less hostile to British expatriots and more impenetrable to non-white middle and working classes. Patrick Bryan’s essay on the late-nineteenth-century Jamaican white elite argues that their economic power gave them their political power and their cultural influence. All whites had social authority, although they believed in their own racial and cultural superiority in different ways. Other divisions among group members (origin, class, occupation, ideology) show that the group was not monolithic.

A common theme throughout the book is that although small, most white elite groups have been quite diverse in class, profession, and origin, and these groups have become unified only in relation to the rest of the population. Most essays grapple with the problem of post-emancipation societies and the ways power was or was not maintained by the white elites. But most are limited to historical situations, rarely venturing into the present. By focusing on a topic that has been largely neglected over the past few decades, however, this book takes first steps toward filling that gap by contributing to the establishment of a historical foundation on which future research on Caribbean whites can build.

The State, Bureaucracy, and the Cuban Schools: Power and Participation. SHERYL L. LUTJENS. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1996. xiii + 239 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.00)

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This book argues that in Cuba popular participation has been encouraged in each stage of socialism, that it has been promoted by the central state and party, and that the high level of popular participation through the period has tended to check bureaucratization. The sector of popular participation described in this book is small group concern with education. The author sets out to demonstrate its contribution to the functioning of the national and centralized education system.

Lutjens situates the Cuban case in theories of national development in post-socialist and post-authoritarian states by means of brief reports on some aspects of development in Eastern Europe, Russia, and several Latin American nations. Cuba is taken to represent an exception to a common trend in these societies toward decentralization, market economies, and an increase in liberal democratic participation. Lutjens finds that Cuba's centralized state and Communist Party, and its centralized social, economic, and educational programs stand pretty much alone in a post-socialist era after the overthrow of Communist Party control in Russia and Eastern Europe. Cuba thus represents an exception to a world trend, and represents successful achievement of socialist democracy along with a centralized socialist state. The climate of academic opinion about trends in these areas after the demise of socialism is well presented.

The proposition is interesting (diversity is more appealing and more probable than homogeneity), but it is not well supported in this book by the methodology used for the empirical sections, which deal with citizen participation in Cuban schools. Numerous references to parents, community groups, and student groups voicing opinions and contributing services and resources suggest much activity. However, demonstration of the claim for the effects of popular participation does not get any further than various officials' statements that they have to heed local level associations and citizen activism in communities. The problem is that there is no methodology for obtaining depth of empirical knowledge. There is no discussion of methods and no discussion of the quality of sources of data. The reader is left to surmise methods and sources from the references in the notes. There are no clues about many of the publications cited, and the

bulk of the data from periodicals reads as though it could be from uncritical or official sources. In reporting interviews, the informant's position is noted, but not the locale, the size of the institution, or other identifiers. Interview quotations are so brief and so lacking in context that they convey no depth. Equally baffling is much of the text where numbers are listed – numbers of schools, students, teacher resignations, new constructions, etc. – but not located by size and type of place, not compared, and not presented in tabular form. Even a little use of comparison, selectivity, and tabular form would have helped a lot.

The reader finds no example of citizens complaining about institutional problems, nor is there an example of response to a complaint or a problem from any part of the school system. The examples of participation are primarily volunteerism. Public opinion concerning curriculum is not reported, and the tendency for local people to concern themselves only with extra-curricular issues is not explained. Part of the ineffectiveness of the case for public participation is that the locus of types of authority in the national school system is not explained. If the evidence of public participation is taken at face value, we still lack any demonstration of interaction of the public and the system. On the theoretical claim that public participation checks bureaucracy, the reader looks in vain for any instance in which local activism attempts to influence policy matters.

Unconvincing as the argument is, there is much interesting and valuable information about the Cuban formula for popular participation in a centralized state. The book is informative about the management of the severe effects on the Cuban economy of loss of Soviet subsidies and loss of preferential trade status with Eastern Europe and Russia, and the added impact of U.S. economic sanctions against Cuba. In these situations centralization is claimed to have been effective in a program of austerity, and the long standing practice of enlisting popular participation is credited with bringing about a resourceful response to austerity.